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Filing date: **03/15/2012**

IN THE UNITED STATES PATENT AND TRADEMARK OFFICE
BEFORE THE TRADEMARK TRIAL AND APPEAL BOARD

Proceeding	92046185
Party	Plaintiff Amanda Blackhorse, Marcus Briggs, Phillip Gover, Shquanebin Lone-Bentley, Jillian Pappan, and Courtney Tsotigh
Correspondence Address	JESSE WITTEN DRINKER BIDDLE AND REATH LLP 1500 K STREET NW, SUITE 1100 WASHINGTON, DC 20005-1209 UNITED STATES Jesse.Witten@dbr.com, John.Ferman@dbr.com, Lee.Roach@dbr.com, Stephen.Wallace@dbr.com
Submission	Other Motions/Papers
Filer's Name	Jesse A. Witten
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Signature	/Jesse A. Witten/
Date	03/15/2012
Attachments	Part 33 of 60 BLA-TTAB-02326 - 02504.pdf (181 pages)(7062288 bytes)

IN THE UNITED STATES PATENT AND TRADEMARK OFFICE
BEFORE THE TRADEMARK TRIAL AND APPEAL BOARD

In re Registration No. 1,606,810 (REDSKINETTES)
Registered July 17, 1990,

Registration No. 1,085,092 (REDSKINS)
Registered February 7, 1978,

Registration No. 987,127 (THE REDSKINS & DESIGN)
Registered June 25, 1974,

Registration No. 986,668 (WASHINGTON REDSKINS & DESIGN)
Registered June 18, 1974,

Registration No. 978,824 (WASHINGTON REDSKINS)
Registered February 12, 1974,

and Registration No. 836,122 (THE REDSKINS—STYLIZED LETTERS)
Registered September 26, 1967

Amanda Blackhorse, Marcus Briggs, Phillip Gover, Jillian Papan, and Courtney Tsotigh, Petitioners, v. Pro-Football, Inc., Registrant.	Cancellation No. 92/046,185

ATTACHMENT TO PETITIONERS' FIRST NOTICE OF RELIANCE

PART 33 OF 60

BLA-TTAB-02326 – BLA-TTAB-02504

Respectfully Submitted,

_/s/Jesse A. Witten_____
Jesse A. Witten
Jeffrey J. Lopez
John D. V. Ferman
Lee Roach
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Counsel for Petitioners

American Indian Heritage School and Program
1330 North 90th Street / Seattle, WA 98103 / (206) 298-7895

January 21, 1992

Ms. Kris Deweese, President
1919 Lawrence
Port Townsend, WA

Dear Ms. Deweese,

You and the School Board are doing the right thing! It will take a courageous move to change Port Townsend's High School's Mascot.

The "Redskins," racially refer to the Indian people. Your logo is racist. I have played in a Tournament there and I was offended with what I saw.

A Teacher on staff here at the Indian Heritage School used to play for Neah Bay High School. He stated there were times they had to be escorted by the police for protection. He is a Makah Indian and is and has been very offended. His name is Luke Markistun.

I have talked to Matt Standing Tree and I support his efforts totally. Students here at the school are writing him letters of encouragement. He is but one voice representing a lot of voices calling out racial harassment.

It is an criminal offense called Malicious Harassment, RCW 9A.36.080. Maliciously and intentionally intimidating or harassing another person because of that person's race, color, religion, ancestry, or national origin. Your logo violates all of the above.

The National Indian Education Association (612/333-5341) recently "condemned the blatant racism and insensitivity," and passed a resolution supporting the national effort to abolish racist mascots and nicknames for sports teams. The National Congress of American Indians (202/546-1168) is scheduled to act on this issue this year.

Do the right thing and mandate change. Please feel free to call me or write. I will gladly do whatever I can to help.

Sincerely,

Robert Eaglestaff
Principal/Program Manager

A Special Program of
The Seattle Public Schools

Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069

Petitioners' Ex.

81

110110

news from
Senator DANIEL K. INOUYE

topic: INOUYE COMMENTS ON NATIVE AMERICAN LEGAL ACTION

date: September 9, 1992

release date: September 10, 1992

"Today, Native American leaders have taken what could prove to be the first step in eliminating offensive names and images from the sports world," said Senator Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii) on the filing of a federal legal action regarding the Washington football team's name.

"The Native American people who have talked to me over the years about this problem of sports names, logos and mascots that stereotype their people have characterized it as a continuing injury," said Inouye, who is the Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs. "This demeaning protrayal of American Indian people, their appearance, their traditional dress, their ceremonial dances serves as a constant reminder of the injustices they have suffered at the hands of the non-Indians throughout the past five centuries. As we prepare to enter a new century, it is time to leave this era behind with the symbolic and substantive evolutionary act of changing offensive names and negative images in sports."

Morning Star

General Board of Church and Society of The United Methodist Church
100 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002 • (202) 488-5600

PRESS STATEMENT
by
THOM WHITE WOLF FASSETT
GENERAL SECRETARY
THE UNITED METHODIST GENERAL BOARD OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY
on
RACIST IMAGES IN THE SPORTS INDUSTRY

September 10, 1992

"Native American leaders are taking what could prove to be a very substantial advance toward eliminating racist stereotypical images from the sports world," said Thom White Wolf Fassett, General Secretary of The United Methodist Church General Board of Church and Society. Reverend Fassett, one of the highest ranking Native American officials in The United Methodist Church, went on to say, "The United Methodist Church has a long-standing history of opposing racial harassment. When violent and negative images are created of a group of people because of the racial or ethnic group they belong to, the ensuing result is often times harassment." Reverend Fassett quoted United Methodist *"Social Principles"* on Racial Harassment, "When this prejudicial and/or racist attitude is expressed in a behavior that is focused specifically in the abuse, humiliation, and defamation of persons because of their race or ethnicity, it has become racial harassment."

The United Methodist Church General Board of Church and Society has been involved in trying to end negative images of racial and ethnic groups around the world, including endorsing the City Council resolution introduced by City Council Member Lightfoot last year urging the Washington Redskins to change their name and mascot.

For further information, contact:
Hilary O. Shelton (202) 488-5658

NOTE: The General Secretary does not speak for The United Methodist Church. Only The General Conference of The United Methodist Church can speak for the church.

Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069

Petitioners' Ex.

83

400555

SPECIAL SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 1

MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS

AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY SCHOOL DISTRICT

807 NORTHEAST BROADWAY, MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55413-2398

LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENCY PROGRAM

(612) 627-2048
(612) 627-2046

14 19

September 11, 1992

Dorsey and Whitney Law Firm
2200 First Bank Place East
Minneapolis, MN

Dear Sirs:

I was extremely pleased to read the article in the Minneapolis Tribune this morning regarding the petition to the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office to have the name "Redskins" stripped of trademark protection. I am an author and educator with the Minneapolis Public Schools and I can assure you that our Native American children and parents find this term extremely offensive.

As we all know, the beautiful history of Native Americans has been written through "white eyes." The depth of the deception is stunning and insidious to us in education who struggle daily to keep Native American children in school when our textbooks, television shows, and professional sports teams continue to degrade and humiliate their culture. Self-esteem and success in school have been linked in a number of studies, which may be useful to you in your petition.

Please, if I can be of any help with this much needed initiative, especially from a law firm of such influence as your own, let me know.

Sincerely,

John Mundahl

130250

Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069

Petitioners' Ex.

84

An Equal Opportunity School District

MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS
807 Northeast Broadway Minneapolis, MN 55413

JOHN MUNDAHL
Second. Title VII Project Coord.
Second. ESL Resource Teacher

Limited English Proficiency
Phone 612/627-2046

7 Steve Daniel

United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6450

November 6, 1992

Mr. Tom Griffith
P.O. Box 31345
Seattle, Washington 98103

Dear Mr. Griffith:

Thank you for writing to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs to express your concerns over the use of the name of "Redskins" for the Washington, D. C. football team.

I agree with you that the use of a such a name for a football team is insensitive. A private group, the Morning Star Foundation, has filed a legal action against the team's owner, seeking to deny the use of the name.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUYE
Chairman

Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069

Petitioners' Ex.

85

130324

Ojibway • Oneida • Potawatomi • Stockbridge-Munsee • Winnebago • Menominee

GLITC INC: GREAT LAKES INTER-TRIBAL COUNCIL INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 9 LAC DU FLAMBEAU, WISCONSIN 54538 PHONE (715) 588-3324

AMERICAN INDIAN STUDY COMMITTEE

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY

PRESENTED NOVEMBER 12, 1992

TO:

REPRESENTATIVE FRANK BOYLE, CHAIRPERSON
COMMITTEE MEMBERS

BY:

Carol Hand, MSSW, Deputy Director, Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council, Inc. (GLITC), Health & Human Services.

INTRODUCTION

Chairman Boyle and members of the Committee, I am Carol Hand. I thank you for this opportunity to speak to the Committee today regarding the use of Native American names and images within the public school system of Wisconsin. It is my belief that these practices perpetuate stereotypes of American Indians. My concern with the harm caused by these types of stereotypes evolved out of my personal experiences as a parent and resident in the small Wisconsin town of Milton.

Just over two years ago, I wrote a letter to the Superintendent of Schools in Milton. It was a letter requesting that the school district take a serious look at the names (REDMEN, RAIDERS, and WARRIORS), and the foolish, negative, and inaccurate characterizations of Native people that were used as symbols by the public schools within the district. It was a letter written from the perspective of a Chippewa mother who had to counteract the negative messages conveyed to my child by the use of these demeaning names and caricatures.

DISCUSSION OF ISSUES AND CONCERNS

According to information from the Department of Instruction, about 90 high schools in Wisconsin use Indian names and/or images to depict their sports teams. These images reflect the role that

Indians." "This is a democracy where the majority rules -- we are not going to let one woman tell us what to do." "Why pick on us? Everyone else is doing it." "We don't mean to hurt anyone." "It is too expensive to change." These are the same arguments used in the 1950s to oppose the civil rights of African Americans.

We all know that it is not an honor to be ridiculed or trivialized. We all know that we can learn from mistakes. We all make mistakes throughout our lives, and hopefully become wiser and kinder as a result. We all know that intent to cause harm in the past is irrelevant in the decision to desist from causing harm in the future. And hopefully, we all know that a true democracy cannot be based on ignoring or silencing the voices of respect, caring, and reason within a community or a nation.

In my experience, State Statute 118.13, the Pupil Nondiscrimination Act, is not an effective tool for change. As interpreted by Attorney General, James Doyle, individuals may well have to place themselves and their children at risk in order to attempt change on a community by community basis.

VIDEO: I would like to share a brief news clip to illustrate the reality of this approach from my personal experience.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

My experiences in the community of Milton have profoundly changed my life. I have learned what it is like for a minority woman to express an opinion. The months of ridicule, threats, and warnings have convinced me that this is a fundamentally important issue. If a well-educated, professional parent has trouble dealing with the narrow, entrenched, disrespectful practices and attitudes of the public educational system, is there hope for change? In a time when we are being increasingly challenged to become part of a multi-cultural world-community, can we afford public school doctrines that perpetuate disrespectful stereotypes? And most fundamentally, whose responsibility is it to initiate constructive change?

We all know that names hurt. We know from the Nazi experience that negative stereotypes, stated often enough, with enough emotion, result in genocide and holocaust. We know from decades of research that racist attitudes are hard, if not impossible, to change: behavioral change needs to be legislated and enforced to protect minorities. One need only look at the increasingly violent divisions across the world to know that we have an opportunity to say here, now, in Wisconsin, that our public school system will take a strong stand to respect human diversity.

In closing, I thank you Chairman Boyle and Committee members for listening. I urge you to acknowledge the dignity of Native American people by addressing this issue on a statewide basis.

group on the basis of race, ethnicity, class, national origin, religious or political belief, physical ability, age, gender, or sexual orientation. Specifically, effective July 1, 1994, the Board of Trustees, by its approval of this resolution, undertakes to disallow the use of the word "Redskins" as a name for any Miami University athletic team in any publication over which the Board exercises editorial control, either directly or through the officers or administration or their designates.

Dr. Harwood expanded on the rationale that accompanied his motion on the agenda by reading remarks that are appended to these minutes.

Following these remarks, the Chair, without objection, adjourned the meeting at approximately 5:05 p.m., indicating that the Executive Committee would set the agenda for the next meeting.

Susan Ann Kay
Chair, Committee on Codification

Statement to the University Senate, 5 April 199
Dr. Britton Harwood

While the Senate should consider all relevant viewpoints on the pending resolution, referring the resolution if necessary to a standing committee or even an ad hoc committee or perhaps holding hearings, I believe the Senate should not allow itself to become distracted by bogus issues. This university was named for a river Valley that was named in turn from one of the Algonquin nations, the Miamis, who were forcibly removed from this land. Whatever good this university accomplishes, human displacement has been part of the price of it; and this history makes up some of our identity. This identity is nothing that the pending resolution intends to smooth away.

Moreover, despite the expectation by dominant institutions that native Americans will acquire mainstream values, many native Americans appear to feel a need for a distinct cultural identity. Nothing in the resolution today would presume to try to deny this to anyone.

Rather, the resolution simply takes a stand on whether the University, in its official publications, should call its athletes "redskins." Ironically, we can call them this only on condition that they are not in fact native Americans. If by some miracle this fall we could populate the football team with eleven Jim Thorpes, we would not have the effrontery to call them the Miami Redskins. Mascots are the modern survival of totems. Many so-called primitive peoples made use of totems, saying, "We are beavers" or "We are nighthawks." But these peoples invariably took as their totems either inedible animals or the inedible parts of edible ones. Because totems are used in the formation of culture, primitive peoples had the genius to realize that totems could not be creatures with cultures of their own. As an Iroquois remarked no long ago, "Army had a mule for a mascot, Navy had a goat, Georgia had a bulldog, and Syracuse had an Indian. It was as if we were less than

human." Totems are means to an end. But people are ends in themselves. No person has a right to make an instrument of another human being.

Although the work "redskin" was once used by native Americans to identify themselves, just as "nigger" and "Negro" were once self-identifying terms for African-Americans, and may still be so for some, "redskin" today is received as derogatory by many and perhaps most native Americans. The National Congress of American Indians, representing approximately 150 tribal governments, calls it a racial slur. Even if it never offended native Americans, the use of it by the white majority in this country would still be objectionable; for the word identifies people simply by a feature irrelevant to any work they might do or other social contribution they might make. "Minorities of color share a history of discrimination and oppression based primarily on color." When the dominant culture accepts the casual use of a term that classes people by pigment, it signals to minority children of color that they had better adjust their conception of what is attainable in life.

Even if the word were "Indians" or "Braves" or "Chiefs," there would still be the insuperable difficulty that when we turn people into a totem we make them one-dimensional. In calling our athletes "redskins," no doubt we have in mind such qualities as courage and self-discipline. But the fact is, the Miamis then and now are not simply fighters and they are not only males. When we play at being Indians, we fill the space where real people in their historical specificity could appear and start to talk with us. However careful the simulacrum, Chief Miami is in effect one more displacement of native Americans. And the naturalness with which we use the word "redskins" stands for the way that native Americans themselves are scarcely visible.

The brave in his war paint is no more real, after all, than young Indian women in 1993, who die from cirrhosis of the liver fifteen times more frequently than women their age in the population at large. The courageous warrior at Tippecanoe is no more real than the tribal teenager of 1993, who is twice as likely to commit suicide as other Americans his age. Because we find it serviceable in supporting our athletic teams, a certain antiquarianism, as manifested in the Miami Indian Rooms in the Shriver Center, fills the space where there ought to be living native Americans, whose economies and family structures have been profoundly disrupted by European civilization.

In 1986, the per capita income of the 167,000 members of the Navajo Nation was about $2400. Unemployment stood at 33%. Seventy percent of Navajo households had no electricity, running water, or sewer facilities. Among the Utes in the 1970s, only a quarter of the males had completed high school. The mischievous claim that "we are the Redskins" obscures for us who these people are.

Some would claim that Miami is in a dilemma. Because the Miamis of Oklahoma have sanctioned the name Redskins for our athletes, we cannot drop it without their permission or except at their direction, lest we give them offense. But the word "redskin" is not, of course, within the gift of a 1500-member tribe. Ironically, in 1809, the year the General Assembly of Ohio established this university, the Miamis, the Delawares, and several other tribes gave up nearly three million acres of land for about $10,000. "Part of the land belonged to the Shawnee, however, and their Chief Tecumseh declared the transaction to be illegal, saying, ". . . This land that was sold, and the goods that was given for it, was only done by a few. . . ." Members of the Miami University community have lavished attention upon the Miamis of Oklahoma. We have established several scholarships for them. These admirable acts renew our sense of identity. But "redskins" is not a trademark that the Miamis can license, and we must be careful not to suggest that it is, lest our scholarships and other attentions take on the appearance of a royalty, in

effect an indirect cost of intercollegiate athletics. Having conferred benefits on the Miamis, we then place them in what appears to be a conflict of interest if we ask whether they approve of our calling ourselves the Redskins. It would be morally obtuse to fail to see this. If we want a disinterested opinion, we might ask the Oglala Sioux, who, twenty years ago, barricaded themselves at Wounded Knee. Or the Hopis, who finally won their struggle this past November for 400,000 acres.

We might wonder what the Kayapo in Brazil, fighting for the rain forest and their way of life, would make of it, when we call ourselves the "redskins." Or what it would sound like to the Guambiano of Colombia, whose culture is being invaded by the heroin industry. There were the exactions loaded on to the people of Israel, which the Hagaddah will remember tonight. But there are also the burdens of poverty, alcoholism, bias, marginality. And as Amnesty International made clear this past October, the killing and abuse of indigenous peoples in the Americas has not stopped. At the beginning of a week in which many in this room will remember the way of the Cross, it is also well to remember that for thousands whose religious genius is altogether different, the Trail of Tears has not yet come to an end. The University Senate as such can do little to lift these burdens or wipe away those tears. But it does not follow that the Senate can do nothing. For the time being, it can drop from the official publications of the University this insensitive and discriminatory word.

THE VOICE

1993

Tuesday, April 27 ASG Volume 3, Number 4

How much will your tuition rise?

by Erin O'Donnell

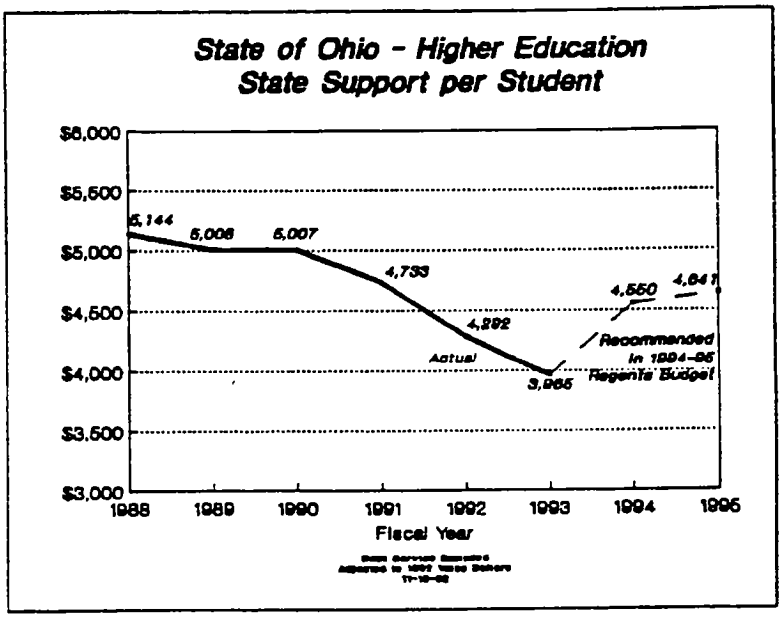
The biennium process occurs every two fiscal years (January 1st-June 30th). It goes through several steps before it is approved. First, the governor proposes his budget, and the House of Representatives reviews and amends it. Next it is sent to a committee where the Senate does the same. This is where the governor's current proposal is. When the Senate is finished it will go on to a joint committee of the House and Senate for more reviewing and amending. It is then ready for the governor's signature.

Governor Voinovich's proposed budget provides for an increase of slightly more than two percent for in-state subsidies for Miami University in 1993-1994. The budget also includes a mandated four percent cap on increase of tuition. This increase may sound positive on the surface, but a closer look tells a different story.

The support for higher education has been cut by 24 percent in the last five years, from $5,144 per student in 1988 to $3,965 per student this year. Even if the governor's recommended budget is adopted, 1995 funding will be less than 1991 funding. (see figure 1)

Ohio now ranks forty-second out of fifty in per capita funding for higher education. While most states' funding is heading upward, Ohio's continues downward.

Only four states were cut more than Ohio during the last years- Virginia, California, Massachusetts, and Florida. Four others equaled Ohio's cuts of seven percent- Alaska, Connecticut, Maine, and Rhode Island. The remaining 41 states did better than Ohio, some extraordinarily so: Nevada received a 27 percent increase and Arkansas received a 25 percent increase. (see figure 2) Now local government receives a larger portion of the state's operating budget than higher education. According to Bill Hanger, Director of Institutional Relations at Miami, the problem is that the state funding formula does not take into consideration several facts about Miami that place us among the best in America's universities, but also tend to raise our operating costs. For example Miami University has a large percentage of full-time faculty than most Ohio state schools. We have more classes taught by professors, but in



Tuition continues p.

Miami University and the "Redskin" - An Analysis

by Michael Cabonargi

Framing the Issue

What's so bad about being the "Redskins"? What's the big deal about dressing someone up like a Native American? What's the big deal about doing the "tomahawk chop"? What's the problem with a "cartoon Indian" as a decal?

The first point to make before talking about "what's so bad" is that the issue is bigger than the name of the teams. Schools and teams that adopt Native American names also usually adopt symbols, graphics, songs, mascots, language, etc. to build a whole identity "package".

The second point is that this identity "package" contains certain institutionaliy-designed elements (the official logos, the official mascot, etc.). It also includes elements over which the institution has little or no control but which become part of the "package" by virtue of those who are related to the institution. Whether the Atlanta Braves organization designed or authorized the "tomahawk chop", that behavior by the Braves' fans has become a prominent part of their identity "package". "Use of mascots is particularly demeaning and encourages behavior based on the Hollywood image of Indians dancing, giving 'war whoops' or as a grunting savage. This use is particularly susceptible to misuse based on general public images of Indians." Report of the Michigan Civil Rights Commission; October, 1988; p.26.

This being said, there are many different criticisms being made about the use of Native American identity "packages" for schools or teams. These different avenues of criticism can be identified in various sources, many of them Native American. Others include media, such as Sports Illustrated, the New York Times the Washington Post, the Portland Oregonian, et al. Additional sources include governmental bodies, such as the State of Michigan Human Rights Commission, which looked into Native American identity "packages" in Michigan schools, recommending that schools change to other identity "packages".

The following list of arguments against Native American identity "packages" are in no particular order of importance:

1. These "packages" are inherently racial, and "packages" which are based on Native American words, symbols, and practices are the only racially-based identities in use for the purpose of creating a mascot or an identity for a school or team.

Many of the words, symbols, and practices which make up these "packages" vis a vis Native American identities are offensive to many members of the Native American race. Some elements are almost without question slurs against this race of people. The name "redskin" would seem to be such a slur, regardless of the intention of the person who says it, in the same way that "nigger" is now commonly regarded as such a slur against African-Americans. We continue to do things to or with Native Americans that we would never consider doing to or with African-Americans or Asian-Americans.

Racial insensitivity is increasingly a concern on college campuses. It is not at all uncommon to read accounts of incidents involving perceived racial slurs. Sometimes physical fights ensue. Members of racial minorities tell of feelings of intimidation and fear from these "name-calling" incidents.

Many Native Americans have said they feel demeaned by the names, symbols, and practices of teams and schools that base an identity "package" on a Native American theme. Many have said they feel they have been treated unfairly, i.e. in a manner different from other racial minorities.

2. The racial insensitivity of these packages make them completely inconsistent with current efforts to diversify many universities, including Miami.

If the identity "package" slurs one racial minority through the mascot name, how can a member of any other racial minority expect any better treatment at the institution? Indeed, if our goals for diversity include more Native American students, our "package" would seem to be a direct hurdle in the way of this goal. The use of a racially-insensitive name, like "Redskin" perhaps, might even seem to give permission to people in the institution to use equivalent references with members of other racial minorities. It would seem to be in the best interest of institution

that are seriously interested in diversity to avoid any identity "package" which can be interpreted by reasonable people as racially insensitive or worse.

3. These "packages" are disrespectful in a cultural sense.

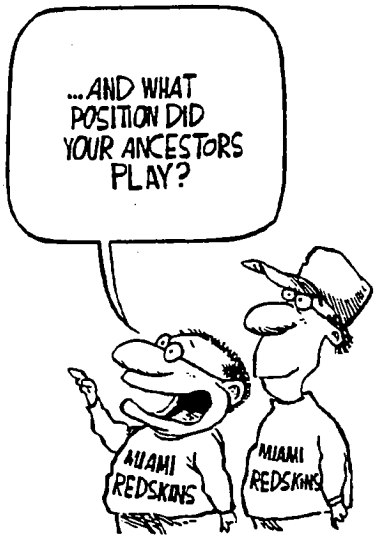
They put "Indians" into the same classification as "Vikings", "Spartans" and "Trojans", i.e., an ancient culture which no longer exists but which is a popular theme for the development of an identity "package". Native Americans are frequently frustrated by treatment which does not recognize their culture as a living and vibrant one. Some tell of museums that display Native American artifacts in the same display with dinosaur skeletons. There are too many signals that Native Americans are not a living people.

4. These "packages" are another example of American bullying.

We pushed Native Americans from their native lands. We forced them into schools and eliminated their languages by prohibiting its teaching and practice of the language in the boarding schools to which the children were sent. We have proven over and over that we can do anything to Native Americans that we want, so we do - even when they protest. Now, after nearly destroying their culture, we have co-opted.

5. These "packages" sometimes borrow symbols or objects that are considered spiritual by the native culture, and therefore, sacred.

With respect to Native Americans, certain regalia is worn for certain ceremonial or ritual functions. To wear such at other times might be considered disrespectful or even sacrilegious. It is not suggested here that Miami uses any regalia, practices, or objects which are "spiritually sensitive" in this manner.



6. These "packages" frequently employ objects or practices which perpetuate a myth of Native Americans as warriors or savages or other connotations that would be considered negative or antiquated.

The "tomahawk chop" is open to this criticism - especially when combined with the sale of foam or plastic tomahawks for use as pom-poms or pennants. We have at times seen a Miami mascot, such as Tom-O-Hawk, use similar "chopping" motions when engaging a competitor's mascot in mock combat.

7. These "packages" sometimes seem to be irrational, underscoring the many people's ignorance in regards to Native Americans and their lives.

An example might be the celebration of our student union as a Native American "reservation" or "res". Perhaps nothing is more anathema to Native Americans than the notion of a "res". It is a constant reminder of the removal from homelands. It is a constant reminder of being some sort of ward of the government. It is a symbol, for the most part, of poverty and immense social problems. Why would we celebrate such a concept, if not for our own ignorance?

8. These "packages" reflect basic rudeness, in some cases.

The Cleveland Indians perpetuate the caricature even though they have been asked for years by Native Americans to desist. The Washington Redskins also continue to use their race-based package, although they are currently facing a legal challenge. On September 10, 1992, the Morning Star Foundation, a nonprofit Native American advocacy group, whose membership includes United States Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell and Mr. W. Richard West, Jr., Founding Director of the National Museum of the Native American, filed a federal administrative law action with the U.S. Patent and Trademark office against the Washington Redskins organization, seeking to cancel federal registration - and subsequent protection - of the trademarked term "Redskins." Ms. Suzan Shown Harjo, the President of the foundation, said of the action: "The bottom line is that when someone tells you they are offended, you should listen. So we are saying it again, this time forcefully: the term 'Redskins' and similar expressions

tending to stereotype us are offensive. It would be tolerated by no other group. And now, we won't tolerate it either" (For more information, please refer to Appendix A). We hasten to add that, to the best of our knowledge, no Native Americans have filed official protests about anything at Miami at this point.

It is important to note that these arguments against perpetuation of the "Redskin" identity "package" at Miami or other Native American identity "packages" elsewhere have seldom been made in any form like this. This list was intended to be a summary of many themes of arguments recorded in many different sources. There may be many more.

In a 1977 presentation, Dr. Leona M. Foerster, Professor of Education at Texas Tech, and Dale Little Soldier, then a Texas Tech doctoral student, presented the following points under the topic, "The Don'ts of teaching about Indians". They may apply to Miami as well.

"Don't engage children in inappropriate activities: snake dances, sand paintings, cowboys and "Indians", etc. When books show children doing "Indian" dances (or when they are encouraged to do any kind of jumping around under the title of "Indian dancing"), it is often insulting to Native cultures and is frequently sacrilegious. Just as books and schools would not have children play "High Mass" or "Yom Kippur" services, respect should be given to Native American religious ceremonies."

"There is nothing harmful in children dressing up to play clowns, witches, cowboys, or pilots. These are roles that can be taken on by people of any racial, religious, or national group. But being a Native American is not a role. Native people are human beings with diverse cultures and distinctive national identities. Being Lakota (Sioux), Hopi, Navajo, etc. is an integral aspect of their human condition. To suggest that other people can become "Indian" simply by donning a feather is to trivialize native people's diversity and to assault their humanity."

The Defense

So why are we still the "Redskins" at Miami? If the arguments against a Native American identity "package" are compelling, there must be particularly strong arguments for continuing our current practice. These arguments, like the preceding section, are in no particular order, and they represent a compendium of the many rationalizations advanced within the University community over the last several years:

1. Our "Redskin identity package" is a University tradition.

This, in and of itself, is not a compelling argument in favor of continuation. Many Miami traditions have fallen by the wayside ("dressing" for football games, Mother's Day serenades, women's hours, etc.).

Indeed, Miami has maintained the "Redskins" mascot for a long time, but not nearly as long as one might assume. A review of the Recensio and the Miami Student files would seem to produce the following timeline of development:

1915No references to Native Americans. Varsity athletic winners were member of the "M" Men.

1916The entire issue has a Native American theme.. Still, no reference to any "nickname" for any of the athletic teams.

1920Athletic teams were first referred to as the "Big Red". The "M" Association was the varsity letter-winner association.

1925Teams were referred to as the "Big Reds" or as the "Red and White". The Varsity "M" Association was the club for letter-winners.

1930Teams were the "Big Red". Letter-winners now belonged to "Tribe Miami".

1931First reference to "Redskins" with a coach named Chester Pittser as the primary motivator for the change. No references to "Big Red".

1933The "M" Handbook (freshman handbook) featured an Indian head silhouette on the cover in the style of a "noble savage". Cheerleader sweaters had the same silhouette on them. From the athletics section: "Miami University - Athletic teams are known as Redskins, honoring the fierce Tribe Miami Indians of early Ohio history".

1935 Teams are "Redskins". Letter-winners belong to "Tribe Miami". Cheerleader sweaters feature an Indian head in the "noble savage" style but different from the silhouette used in 1933.

2. We continue use of our "Redskin package" because the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma supports the status quo - even worse because they "want us to be the 'Redskins' ".

It is true that there have been three resolutions of the Business Council or the full Tribe passed since 1972. The resolutions say in part "... It is our counsel that the name Redskins is a revered and honored name in the eyes and hearts of the people of Miami University, and that it signifies to them as to us the qualities of courage, self-discipline, respect, kindness, honesty, and love exemplified by generations of young athletes..." and "... that we of Miami blood are proud to have the name Miami Redskin

carried with honor by the athletic representation of Miami University...".

Discussions between Miami's 1992-93 ASG President, Michael Cabonargi, and the current Chief of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, Floyd E. Leonard, during several days spent in Miami, OK, at a pow wow in September, 1992, underscored the Tribe's pride in the relationship with Miami University. Chief Leonard indicated that the term "redskin" is not an issue to most Miami Native Americans. He did state, though, that the University's selection of a mascot or identity "package" was the University's business, and the Tribe has no desire to "meddle in University politics".

It is important to note in any discussion of the Tribe's reaction to Miami's continued use of the "Redskins" identity that implicit in the resolutions which indicate pride in Miami's use of the name is the continuing assumption that the University exhibits the same qualities which the name signifies to them, specifically "courage, self-discipline, respect, kindness, honesty, and love" and that the name be "carried with honor".

3. It doesn't matter what other Native Americans think about our use of the term "redskin" or any other symbol, song, or practice, as long as the Miami Tribe continues to approve of our actions.

To be sure, Miami University is named after the tribe of Native Americans known as the Miami. Our resolution of tribal support is an act of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma. Probably half of the Miami Native Americans living today are members of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma. The other half are casually known as the Indiana Miamis, for they have no formal tribal name. Their recognition as a tribe was terminated in the late-19th century. They have not been able to regain recognition by the U.S. government as a tribe since then and they have no "official" voice or role in Miami University's relationships with Native Americans. Their children are not eligible for scholarships reserved for children of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma. They have not been polled to see what their reaction is to Miami's continuing use of the "Redskin" identity. Currently, the Indiana Miamis are filing with the federal government for recognized status

Beyond "the other Miamis", there are many other Native American peoples who see references to Miami University in their papers and magazines. Perhaps they dream of sending their children to a university that has a heritage which is rich in Native American lore. Does the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma have the authority to give Miami University "permission" to call its teams the "Redskins" and to build an identity around Native American symbols and practices (such as "Chief Miami")? Would a group of African-Americans or Jewish citizens have the authority to give anyone permission to call a team the "Niggers" or "Kikes" ?

4. We continue as the "Redskins" because we fear the reaction of alumni and others who would presumably have a negative reaction to the change.

Change is difficult - both for those who want change and for those who do not. Some never accept certain changes. Stanford continues to be subjected to Native American-related criticism when the change (from "Indians" to "Cardinal") was made over 20 years ago. It is still a highly emotional issue, but Stanford has also prospered in general over the same period. It was one of the first institutions to initiate a capital fundraising campaign with a $1+ billion goal. It continues to raise large amounts of money even in the face of the financial accounting "scandal" which saw the university charging federal overhead on grants, etc. to cover such items as a yacht and specific items for the President's house.

Fear of change in matters which carry tradition status seem to revolve around several fears: that fundraising will be negatively impacted, that the public image of the institution will be negatively impacted by press coverage surrounding the change, that alumni and others will cease being interested in their alma mater. The experiences at Stanford would seem to argue against all of these fears, although in fairness, Stanford alumni still talk about the problems associated with their change. Even young alumni from Stanford know of continuing efforts to "bring back the Indian", but there are many examples of potentially disastrous public relations scenarios being handled with skill and sensitivity.

The key to handling potential PR problems usually comes under the general umbrella of communication. Clear and concise communication of our intentions to alumni will be a necessity. We simply must assume that our alumni and other interested groups are sufficiently sensitive and intelligent and have the best interests of the University in both their minds and their hearts.

It is obvious that reactions on the Miami campus among students, faculty, and staff are mixed. It also seems clear that emotions run high on the issue and there are many who favor keeping the "Redskin" mascot. This does not make the identity "package" any more right, but it does underscore the sensitivity of the issue.

Letters to the Editor of the Miami Student, together with anecdotal evidence of reactions to discussions among administration, faculty, students, alumni, etc. indicates that this issue raises the emotional level to a very high pitch on all sides.

5. We continue to stay with "Redskins" because we will not be a pawn to the "political correctness (PC)" movement.

This argument is patently silly. If it is wrong to continue our usage of the identity "package", let's change it. If it is not wrong, then let's keep it. Let's not be impacted by someone else's label of our action.

Where Do We Go From Here?

The handwriting seems to be on the proverbial wall. If we want to be recognized as being what we say we want to be, this "Redskin" identity seems to stand in our way - regardless of where any majority stands. Clearly no majority has ever paid attention to or been empathic to the needs of Native Americans. We cannot celebrate diversity on the one hand and scream racial slurs on the other.

The point is not that anyone does anything intentionally racial when they scream "Redskins" or when they wear a T-shirt that says "Miami Redskins". It is, though, that some people may hear that as a racial slur. It may be a prospective student. It may be a potential employer of one of our graduates. It may be the very people that we say we honor and respect by forming our University's identity around them.

It is no longer acceptable to expect others to read what is in our hearts or minds when we use certain language. Rather we must make sure that our behavior - speech, visual signals, etc. - are consistent with what we want people to understand about us. It 's not so much about "political correctness" as much as it is about moral correctness.

Change is a difficult thing, but we have not been the "Redskins" forever. We changed before, perhaps without respect for those who loved being the "Big Red". It is time to change again. It is also possible to change. That is what separates us from other animals on this earth. We can decide to do it simply because it is right to do so, and we can make it happen with a minimum of pain for those who care deeply about Miami.

Our change and, more important, our development can serve as a model to other institutions for how to properly address this sensitive issue. Miami has the opportunity to illustrate to other colleges and universities that they can change and not necessarily suffer the ill effects encountered by other schools.

The key to making such a change would seem to be education. We need, as an early part of a transition, to help many Miamians understand why this change is good for this University at this time - why making such a change makes us even more what we say we want to be. How can we do that?

1. We need to introduce our Miami community to Native Americans and to the people of the Miami Tribe. Native Americans need to be seen as real people. The Native American race needs to be seen as a real race of people.

Use Miamian. The alumni magazine is sent to all alumni whose address is known. Devote one or more issues to the best introduction to Native American people and their concerns. This is the only vehicle which will be assured to go to all alumni. This issue (or these issues) should be sent to alumni, faculty, staff, students, parents, and made available to residents of Oxford. There should be at least one very special issue, but the topic should become a regular part of our communication with alumni and other groups.

Use alumni clubs in major cities. Create a road-show program on this topic using the most qualified personnel, including Native Americans. The goal of this is for us to educate our own alumni, along with parent, student, faculty, staff, populations.

Create media-based programs for use by various groups. We have received national publicity for an interactive video facility which is used on campus to raise awareness of issues related to racism. People who see this program say that it "makes a difference". We know how to build these programs. One of the problems is that when people hear the word "racism", they don't necessarily think about Native Americans.

2. We can celebrate Native American and Miami culture whenever we have the opportunity to do so.We can incorporate Miami people into programs where they are appropriate; for example, Miami artists are known as outstanding bead workers.Miami University and the two groups of Miami people could cosponsor a Miami Pow Wow, or celebration, on the Oxford Campus each year.

3. We can move to an identity focus that (1) allows us to realize all of the things which appropriate mascots allow and at the same time (2) allow us to continue to celebrate our connection to the Miami Tribe in our heritage without being racial about it. A mascot/identity which satisfies both criteria seems to be the "red-tailed hawk", or as we might call it, "The RedHawk". This idea has

been discussed with Chief Floyd Leonard by Michael Cabonargi; and while he continues to say that the mascot issue is internal politics that the Tribe does not want to meddle in, he also said that the hawk was a proud symbol, much revered by the members of the Tribe and to his knowledge, all Native Americans.

In addition, the idea of assuming a word from the actual Miami language has merit, if we were able to identify a characteristic, quality, et. al that we might identify the institution. For instance, what is the Miami word for "academia" ? "knowledge" ?"learning" ?

4. We need to make a commitment to educating our own students, faculty, and staff about our "Miami heritage".We have scholars named for many different, special purposes around campus. Why don't we name a Miami Professor of Native American Studies? Why don't we sponsor research in Native American issues? We have other "institutes". Why don't we staff a Native American institute or research center?

We need to make orientation to our heritage a more prominent part of orientation programs for new students and new faculty and staff.

5. We need to make the recruitment and retention of Native American students a priority with other minority recruitment efforts. We should actively try to find capable Miami Native American students (Oklahoma and Indiana) to come to Miami.

6. Every expression of concern or anger should be addressed as important to us. We should treat everyone as having an important voice. Every letter should be answered in a personal and caring way. Every phone call should be returned or answered by someone who can discuss the issues. No one should receive a "deaf ear" on this. At the same time, this is not a majority rule issue. The majority has treated Native Americans as if they weren't here for centuries, and we continue to do so.

7. We can strengthen our ties with the Miami Tribe and the Indiana Miamis. There would seem to be many opportunities to do this, some of which have been mentioned already (pow wows, etc.).

It seems that we could enjoy all of the good elements of our "package" while giving up only a few things - like the word "redskins" as our main identity. There is no reason and there is no rationale for us to lessen our commitment to our heritage, in fact we should be doing even more. This should be seen as an opportunity for Miami to improve its image rather than "giving in" to PC or whatever.

Now is the time for action.

Mike Cabonargi is currently Student Body President and a graduating Senior.

Tuition continued from pg 1

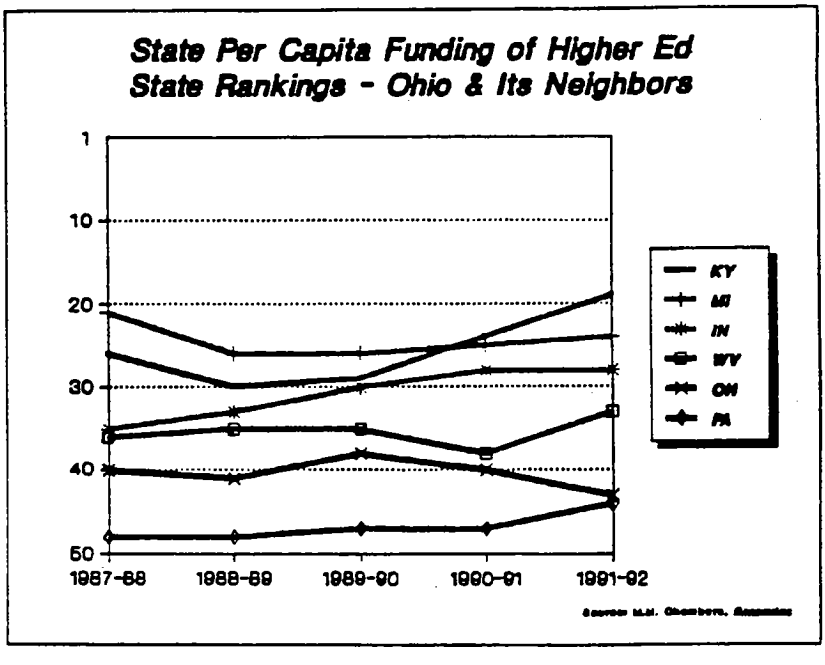
turn, these professors must be paid more than teaching assistants or undergraduate assistants.

Hanger also stated that to solve this problem we must either be willing to tax ourselves more, or convince legislators that we need more money. The big problem with convincing the legislators is that students and their parents are only concerned with Miami's financial while they are in school. This leads to a limited amount of time to rally the support needed to make any changes.

Ben Gibbons, Executive Vice-President of Associated Student Government, stated,"ASG and the Ohio Student Association (A state lobbying group consisting of all of Ohio's state school's student governments) are aggressively pursuing ways to increase the subsidy for higher education and to help implement a budget that will most benefit the students of the state of Ohio and of Miami University."

Unfortunately, until changes are made, students can expect a four to five and a half percent increase in tuition each year.

Erin O'Donnell is a first year Student Senator from Tappan Hall



502051

Harwood Addresses U. Senate on "Redskin" Issue

by Brett Harwood

While the Senate should consider all relevant viewpoints on the pending resolution, referring the resolution if necessary to a standing committee or even as ad hoc committee or perhaps holding hearings, I believe the Senate should not allow itself to become distracted by bogus issues. This University was named for a river valley that was named in turn for one of the Algonquin nations, the Miamis, who were forcibly removed from this land. Whatever good this university accomplishes, human displacement has been part of the price of it: and this history makes up some of our identity. This identity is nothing that the pending resolution intends to smooth away.

Moreover, despite the expectation by dominant institutions that native Americans will acquire mainstream values, many native Americans appear to feel a need for a distinct cultural identity. Nothing in the resolution today would presume to try to deny this to anyone.

Rather, the resolution simply takes a stand on whether the University in its official publications, should call its athletes "redskins." Ironically, we can call them this only on condition that they are not in fact native Americans. If by some miracle this fall we could populate the football team with eleven Jim Thorpes, we would not have the effrontery to call them the Miami Redskins. Mascots fare the modern survival of totems. Many so-called primitive peoples made use of totems, saying, "We are beavers" or "We are nighthawks." But these peoples invariably took as their totems either inedible animals of the inedible parts of edible ones. Because totems are used in the formation of culture, primitive peoples had the genius to realize that totems could not be creatures with cultures of their own. As and Iroquois remarked not long ago, "Army had a mule for a mascot, Navy had a goat, Georgia had a bulldog, and Syracuse had an Indian. It was as if we were less than human." Totems are means to and end. But people are ends in themselves. No person has a right to make and instrument of another human being.

Although the word "redskin" was once used by native Americans to identify themselves, just as "Niger" and "Negro" were once self-identifying terms for African-Americans, and may still be so for some, "redskin" today is received as a derogatory by many and perhaps most native Americans. The National Congress of American Indians, representing approximately 150 tribal governments, calls it a racial slur. Even if it never offending native Americans, the use of it by the white majority in this country would still be objectionable; for the word identifies people simply by a feature irrelevant to any work they might do or other social contribution they might make. "Minorities of color share a history of discrimination and oppression based primarily on color." When the dominant culture accepts the casual use of a term that classes people by pigment, it signals to minority children of color that they had better adjust their conception of what is attainable in life.

Even if the word were "Indians" or "Braves" or "Chiefs" there would still be the insuperable difficulty that when we turn people into a totem we make them one-dimensional. In calling our athletes "Redskins," no doubt we have in mind such qualities as courage and self-discipline. But the fact is, the Miamis then and now are not simply fighters and they are not only males. When we play at being Indians, we fill the space where real people in their historical specificity could appear and start to talk with us. However careful the simulacrum, Chief Miami is in effect one more displacement of Native Americans. And the naturalness with which we use the word "redskins" stands for the way that native Americans themselves are scarcely visible.

The brave in his war paint is not more real, after all, than young Indian women in 1993, who die from cirrhosis of the liver fifteen times more frequently than women their age in the population at large. The courageous warrior at Tippecanoe is no more real than the tribal teenager of 1993, who is twice likely to commit suicide as other Americans his age. Because we find it serviceable in supporting our athletic teams, a certain antiquarianism, as manifested in the Miami Indian Rooms in the Shriver Center, fills the space where there ought to be living native Americans, whose economies and family structures have been profoundly disrupted by European Civilization. In 1986, the per capita income for the 167,000 member of the Navajo Nation was about $2400. Unemployment stood at 33%. Seventy percent of Navajo households had no

electricity, running water, or sewer facilities. Among the Utes in the 1970s, only a quarter of the males had completed high school. The mischievous claim that "we are the Redskins" obscures for us who these people are.

Some would claim that Miami is in a dilemma. Because the Miamis of Oklahoma have sanctioned the name Redskins for our athletes, we cannot drop it without their permission or except at their direction, lest we give them offense. But the work "Redskin" is not, of course, within the gift of a 1500-member tribe. Ironically, in 1809, the year the General Assembly of Ohio established this university, the Miamis, the Delawares, and several other tribes gave up nearly three million acres of land for about $10,000. "Part of the land belonged to the Shawnee, however, and their chief Tecumseh declared the transaction to be illegal, saying, '... This land that was sold, and the goods that was given for it , was only done by a few....' Members of the Miami University Community have lavished attention upon the Miamis of Oklahoma. We have established several scholarship for them. These admirable acts renew our sense of identity. But "redskins" is not a trademark that the Miamis can license, and we must be careful not to suggest that it is, lest our scholarships and other attentions take on the appearance of a royalty, in effect an indirect cost of intercollegiate athletics. Having conferred benefits on the Miamis, we then place them in what appears to be a conflict of interests if we ask whether they approve of our calling ourselves Redskins. It would be morally obtuse to fail to see this. If we want a disinterested opinion, we might ask the Oglala Sioux, who, twenty years ago, barricaded themselves at Wounded Knee. Or the Hopis, who finally won their struggle this past November for 400,000 acres.

We might wonder what the Kayapo in Brazil, fighting for the rain forest and their way of life, would make of it, when we call ourselves the "Redskins". Or what it would sound like to the Guambiano of Columbia, whose culture is being invaded by the Heroin industry. There were the exactions loaded on to the people of Israel, which the Hagaddah will remember tonight. But there are also the burdens of poverty, alcoholism, bias, marginality. And as Amnesty International made clear this past October, the killing and abuse of indigenous peoples in the Americas has not stopped. At the beginning of a week in which many in this room will remember the way of the cross, it is also well to remember that for thousands whose religious genius is altogether different, the Trail of Tears has not yet come to an end. The University Senate as such can do little to lift these burdens or wipe away those tears. But it does not follow that the Senate can do nothing. For the time being, it can drop from the official publications of the University this insensitive and discriminatory word.

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To Bev. Jasmin	From M. Rains Office
Co.	Co.
Dept.	Phone # 350-6
Fax # 8033	Fax #

TO: Beverly Jasmin
I.H.S. Building Coordinator

FROM: Bill Jarboe
Committee Chairman

SUBJECT: NATIVE AMERICAN MASCOT ASSOCIATED WITH IROQUOIS HIGH SCHOOL

DATE: August 13, 1993

The following individuals have been involved in the process of selecting a suitable mascot for our school:

Bill Jarboe - Chairman of Committee, alumni, teacher/coach

Patricia Brownfield - I.H.S. teacher, member of Iroquois community, parent of Iroquois alumni

Devin Sanders - Iroquois alumni, Pre-med student-Kenyon College

Mrs. Jan Wilcoxson - Parent, member of Iroquois community, PTSA member

Matt Foster - Iroquois High Senior

Joe Dotson - Iroquois High Senior

Judge Alan Farber - Jefferson County Circuit Court Judge

In our initial meeting, the committee was given a copy of the minutes from the May 17th meeting of all schools and personnel involved in the Native American Mascot issue. Committee members were asked to use this as a model for discussion.

Our opening suggestions reflected selecting a mascot that possessed the following characteristics:

1) Honorable
2) Respective
3) Positive

Committee members agreed that the present caricature we now use as our mascot could be construed as derogatory. However, the nickname "Raiders" is felt to be a vital part of pride in our school and community. We feel that changing the nickname would be taking away the "ownership" we desperately need from our alumni, students and staff.

Harjo, et al. v.
Pro-Football, Inc.
Case No. 21,069

Petitioners' Ex. 130331

We discussed the history of the school and its community, and the affect of any change. We also discussed what could be considered to be offensive and/or derogatory that needs to be changed. These were generally considered to be offensive:

1) caricature
2) weapons (knife, tomahawk, etc.)
3) war chants
4) war paint
5) the nickname "Redskins"

Native American Awareness was discussed. Ms. Pat Brownfield offered a pre-packaged curriculum for Native American History. All committee members would welcome the opportunity to learn more about Native American history, particularly the "Iroquois Nation". Devin Sanders suggested having "Native American History" week/month. Joe Dotson suggested poster contests on the 9th grade teams concerning Native American History. Using our display cases in the main lobby was mentioned as a way to use Native American art work, music, poetry as a way of learning more about their culture.

The committee has agreed on the following recommendations:

1) Keep present nickname "Raiders".

2) Offer Native American curriculum in our school.

3) Invite Native American guest speakers to our school.

The committee is also willing to meet with any groups/organizations to discuss our recommendations. We have taken into consideration the individual responsibility of our school and feel these recommendations will not interfere or be detrimental to any individual, group, or organization.

Please see the attached recommended timeline.

130332

10:00 a.m.
1324 LHOB

COMMITTEE ON NATURAL RESOURCES
Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests and Public Lands

Hearing on:

H.R. 2176 and H.R. 2702, bills to amend the District of Columbia Stadium Act of 1957 to authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a new stadium in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

Friday, November 5, 1993

Witness List

The Honorable Ben Nighthorse Campbell, U.S. Senator, Colorado

Mr. Robert Stanton, Regional Director, National Capital Region, National Park Service

Mr. Robert L. Mallett, City Administrator/Deputy Mayor for Operations, Washington, D.C.

Panel I

Mr. Melvyn J. Estrin, Commissioner, National Capital Planning Commission
Mr. Herbert Harris, Jr., President, Kingman Park Civic Association, Washington, D.C.
Ms. Veronica E. Raglin, Chair, Campaign Against Cooke Stadium
Mr. Dorn C. McGrath, Jr., Chairman, Committee of 100 and Director, Institute for Urban Development Research, The George Washington University

Panel II

Ms. Suzan Shown Harjo, President, The Morningstar Institute, Washington, D.C.
Mr. C. R. George Dove, partner, The Weihe Partnership
Mr. John P. O'Connor, Secretary-Treasurer, Washington D.C. Building Trades; accompanied by Mr. Edward L. Nelson, President, District of Columbia Contractors Association
Mr. Robert G. Dreher, Managing Attorney, The Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, Washington D.C.

Background on H.R. 2176 and H.R. 2702
D.C Stadium

In 1957, Public Law 85-300 was enacted which authorized the construction of a stadium in the District of Columbia on federal land under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service. That stadium, completed in 1961 and now known as the Robert F.Kennedy (RFK) stadium, was designed for both baseball and football use. In 1979 the revenue bonds issued for the stadium's construction were repaid by the federal government, the District of Columbia and the Armory Board (the entity which manages and operates the stadium). In 1986, Congress enacted amendments (Public Law 99-581) to the 1957 Stadium Act to authorize the stadium's transfer (but not the land underneath it) to the city and provide a 50 year lease of the stadium land and surrounding areas. The law also included a clause that the stadium or the relevant lands would revert to administration as part of the National Park System if they were used for purposes other than those specified in the Act.

Discussions between the District of Columbia and the Washington Redskins Football Organization for improving or replacing the stadium have been ongoing for many years. Formal negotiations between Jack Kent Cooke, owner of the Redskins football team, and the District of Columbia began in 1988 and have continued intermittently since then (one interruption occurred when Mr. Cooke entered into ultimately unsuccessful negotiations for a site in Alexandria, Virginia). In December 1992 a tentative agreement between the city and Mr. Cooke was reached for a new "state of the art" stadium, with a formal but nonbinding memorandum of understanding signed in February 1993. The proposed 78,900 seat stadium which is to be located immediately adjacent to the existing RFK Stadium is to be designed primarily for football, with luxury box suites, improved sightliness, and additional parking. The District of Columbia and the National Park Service began an Environmental Impact Statement on the project, with a Draft EIS released on May 14, and the Final EIS released on October 21, 1993. The EIS considered a No Action Alternative, a R.F.K. Expansion/Renovation Alternative and the Proposed Action: a New Stadium.

H.R. 2176, which Congresswoman Norton introduced by request, amends the District of Columbia Stadium Act of 1957 to authorize the construction, maintenance and operation of a new stadium on National Park Service land under a 99 year lease. It transfers the responsibility and authority for construction, maintenance, naming and operation of the new stadium exclusively to the District of Columbia and authorizes the assignment of those rights to a third party, public or private. Provisions are also included related to parking and height limits for the stadium.

H.R. 2702 introduced on July 21, 1993, by Congressman Faleomavaega is identical to H.R. 2176 with the addition of a Section 3, which prohibits the stadium to be used by any person or organization exploiting any racial or ethnic group or using nomenclature that includes a reference to real or alleged physical characteristics of Native Americans or other groups of human beings.

130277

OPENING STATEMENT
CONGRESSMAN BRUCE F. VENTO
HEARING ON
H.R. 2176 AND H.R. 2702, D.C. STADIUM
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1993

TODAY WE ARE HAVING A HEARING ON TWO BILLS, H.R. 2176, WHICH CONGRESSWOMAN NORTON INTRODUCED BY REQUEST, AND H.R. 2702, INTRODUCED BY OUR COLLEAGUE ON THE NATURAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE, CONGRESSMAN FALEOMAVAEGA. H.R. 2176 AUTHORIZES THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW STADIUM NEXT TO THE EXISTING R.F.K. STADIUM IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. H.R. 2702 IS IDENTICAL TO H.R. 2176 EXCEPT THAT IT FURTHER PROHIBITS THE USE OF THE STADIUM BY ANY PERSON OR ORGANIZATION USING A NAME THAT IS RACIALLY OR ETHNICALLY OFFENSIVE. CONGRESSIONAL LEGISLATION IS NECESSARY TO PROVIDE FOR A NEW STADIUM BECAUSE THE LANDS INVOLVED ARE OWNED BY THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND LEASED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR TO THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FOR SUCH PURPOSE. USE OF THOSE LANDS IS ONLY AUTHORIZED AS STIPULATED IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA STADIUM ACT OF 1957, AS AMENDED. ANY OTHER USE OF THOSE LANDS WOULD TRIGGER THE REVERSION OF THE PROPERTY TO THE SECRETARY FOR ADMINISTRATION AS PART OF THE NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM.

FOLLOWING THE SIGNING OF A MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING IN EARLY FEBRUARY OF THIS YEAR BETWEEN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND THE WASHINGTON FOOTBALL BUSINESS ORGANIZATION, THE SUBCOMMITTEE WAS APPROACHED ABOUT MOVING LEGISLATION TO FURTHER AMEND THE 1957 STADIUM ACT TO ENABLE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT. I WITHHELD MAKING ANY COMMITMENTS AT THAT TIME BECAUSE WE HAD NOT BEEN PRESENTED WITH ANY LEGISLATIVE PROPOSAL. NEARLY THREE MONTHS LATER SUCH LEGISLATION WAS INTRODUCED. HOWEVER, ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS AND DATA ASSOCIATED WITH THE NEW STADIUM PROPOSAL WERE

BEING REVIEWED AS PART OF THE REQUIRED ENVIRONMENTAL ANALYSIS. THOSE QUESTIONS AND DATA NEEDS WERE SUCH THAT THE PROPOSED ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT WAS CHANGED TO A MORE DETAILED ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENT. I MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE SUBCOMMITTEE WOULD NOT CONSIDER LEGISLATION UNTIL THE EIS WAS COMPLETED. I MADE THIS CLEAR FOR TWO REASONS. FIRST, I DID NOT BELIEVE IT WAS APPROPRIATE TO PREJUDGE THE EIS PROCESS. SECONDLY, CERTAIN QUESTIONS THAT I AND OTHERS HAVE HAD WERE BEING REVIEWED AS PART OF THE EIS PROCESS.

NOW THAT THE EIS HAS BEEN COMPLETED I AM TOLD BY THE MAJOR PROPONENT OF THE LEGISLATION, MR. JACK KENT COOKE, THAT WE ARE HOLDING THIS HEARING TOO QUICKLY, BECAUSE THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND MR. COOKE, OWNER OF THE WASHINGTON FOOTBALL TEAM, HAVE NOT FINALIZED ALL THE ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH THEIR STADIUM AGREEMENT. MR. JACK KENT COOKE HAS DECIDED NOT TO COME AS A WITNESS, EXPLAINING THAT SUCH A HEARING WOULD, ACCORDING TO HIM, SERVE NO CONSTRUCTIVE PURPOSE, BECAUSE HE IS CONVINCED THE PRESENT EXISTENCE OF TOO MANY LOOSE ENDS PRECLUDES THE POSSIBILITY OF REACHING ANY DEFINITE DECISIONS.

HAVING RESPONDED TO MR. COOKE'S AND OTHERS' REQUESTS TO HOLD A HEARING ON THE LEGISLATION, IT IS UNFORTUNATE THAT MR. COOKE HAS FORFEITED THE OPPORTUNITY TODAY TO ADDRESS THE SUBJECT AND ISN'T PRESENT TO WORK WITH US AND BEGIN TO ADDRESS THIS MATTER. JACK KENT COOKE'S ABSENCE DOES NOT HELP HIS ADVOCACY. I DO NOT INTEND TO MOVE FORWARD WITH THIS LEGISLATION UNTIL WE RESOLVE THE ISSUES INVOLVED. THE QUESTIONS FROM CONGRESS THAT ARE MOST APPROPRIATE, THE LAND USE PATTERN AND THE PROPER USE OF NPS LAND, GENERALLY LEAVE TO THE CITY AND THE WASHINGTON FOOTBALL TEAM

SIGNIFICANT DECISIONS. IN THE END, WE SHOULD COMPETENTLY AND IN A TIMELY MANNER, SET FORTH THE NATIONAL PUBLIC INTEREST AND NATIONAL PARK SERVICE POLICY REGARDING THIS PROPOSED USE OF PARK LAND. TODAY, I TRUST, WE WILL GET SOME ANSWERS, AND HOPEFULLY INFORMATION IN A TIMELY MANNER TO FACILITATE DELIBERATE ACTION BY THE CONGRESS.

DO OTHER MEMBERS HAVE OPENING STATEMENTS?

130280

STATEMENT OF ROBERT STANTON, DIRECTOR, NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON NATIONAL PARKS AND PUBLIC LANDS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE ON NATURAL RESOURCES, CONCERNING H.R. 2176 AND H.R. 2702, TWO BILLS TO AMEND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA STADIUM ACT OF 1957 TO AUTHORIZE THE CONSTRUCTION, MAINTENANCE, AND OPERATION OF A NEW STADIUM IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

November 5, 1993

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to provide your subcommittee with the views of the Department of the Interior on H.R. 2176 and H.R. 2702, two bills to amend the District of Columbia Stadium Act of 1957 (P.L. 85-300) to authorize the construction, maintenance and operation of a new stadium in the District of Columbia.

We expect to be able to support H.R. 2176 if arrangements for adequate mitigation measures referenced in the Environmental Impact Statement can be finalized. We look forward to working with the committee to complete these arrangements. H.R. 2176 and H.R. 2702 are identical bills, except for the addition of Section 3 in H.R. 2702 which I will address later in my statement.

The District of Columbia and the Jack Kent Cooke organization have concluded negotiations and now jointly propose to construct a new football stadium on the paved parking lot just north of RFK Stadium. Both H.R. 2176 and H.R. 2702 would authorize the construction, maintenance and operation of a second stadium within that land area legislatively designated for use for "stadium purposes" and "stadium parking purposes" since 1957.

In 1944 Congress passed a joint resolution establishing a commission to locate a suitable site for an athletic stadium, obtain a design, formulate a method of financing the project on a "self-

liquidating basis" and make a report to Congress. The ultimate result was passage in 1957 of the District of Columbia Stadium Act, which was enacted "to provide the people of the District of Columbia with a stadium suitable for holding athletic events" in a structure with a seating capacity of 50,000.

We believe that Congress has consistently determined for nearly 50 years that this particular Federal land should be used for a stadium by professional sports teams (*i.e.*, private entities) under a contractual arrangement with the District of Columbia Armory Board. RFK Stadium was completed in 1961 at a cost of approximately $20 million and has since been the venue of the Washington Redskins as well as two different Washington Senators baseball franchises.

The original plan for the stadium predicted that revenues earned would be sufficient to cover operating costs but that the District of Columbia might have to advance funds to pay principal and interest on the bonds which financed construction of the stadium. However, revenues were never enough to meet interest payments or redeem the bonds so the District's budget became the main source of interest payments (approximately $13 million). A Presidential Task Force on the District of Columbia was convened in 1977 under Vice President Walter Mondale. Among the Task Force recommendations was a plan for redemption of the stadium bonds, which resulted in a total Federal appropriation of $19.8 million in the District of Columbia Appropriations Acts of 1978 and 1979.

Prior to the pending bills, the most recent amendment to the Stadium Act of 1957 was enacted in 1986 (Public Law 99-581), which directed the Secretary of the Interior to convey RFK Stadium to the District of Columbia and to lease the underlying land and the parking lots to the District of Columbia for 50 years. Once again, Congress enacted legislation which reinforced its original intent that this property was to be used for stadium purposes for the social and

economic benefit of the District of Columbia, and people in the metropolitan area to attend professional athletic events.

While it is clear since 1957 Congress has intended that the property be used for stadium purposes for the social and economic benefit of the District of Columbia, title to the land has remained in the United States of America. Control of the improvements has rested with the District through long-term negotiated leases between the Armory Board and professional football and baseball teams. The 1977 Presidential Task Force reflected the view that local government should own and control purely local facilities within their jurisdiction, which was once again ratified in 1986 when title to RFK Stadium was conveyed to the District of Columbia. There are no provisions in either H.R. 2176 or H.R. 2702 which change the basic relationship of the Federal government and the District of Columbia with respect to this land or RFK Stadium or the proposed new stadium. Both provide for a 99-year lease to the District of the property set aside for stadium purposes in 1957 and extend the lease for the parking lots (currently 50 years) to conform to the 99-year term.

Unlike earlier proposals for construction of a second stadium, H.R. 2176 and H.R. 2702 do not require the use of additional lands within Anacostia Park. They do not use historic Langston Golf Course or Kingman Island for parking nor do they propose to fill any portion of the Anacostia River nor do they propose acquisition of any additional property in the neighborhood.

In cooperation with the District of Columbia we have recently completed an environmental impact statement with public participation which analyzed the potential environmental consequences of construction and operation of a stadium. The Final EIS found that none of the alternatives studied, including the proposed stadium, would have significant unmitigatable

impacts on the environment or the community. The Final EIS has been provided to this Committee to assist in deliberation on these bills.

The Department of the Interior will continue to play a role as this project develops. The ultimate configuration of the site plan and the stadium will be reviewed and approved through the Federal land use planning authority vested by Congress in the National Capital Planning Commission, of which the Secretary of the Department of the Interior is a voting member.

At the time of drafting these bills, section (Sec. 12(e)) providing for a waiver of the Height of Buildings Act of 1910 was included as a contingency because there was no assurance of the exact height of the proposed structure. It is no longer necessary because the stadium as proposed conforms to the requirements of the Height of Buildings Act. We request that the portion of Section 12(e) that waives provisions of the Height of Buildings Act be deleted from the legislation.

H.R. 2702 is identical to H.R. 2176 with the exception of Section 3 regarding the Prohibition on the use of Certain Designations. The Department of the Interior deplores the use of language, names or symbols offensive to any racial or ethnic group, including Native Americans for whom the Department has in several capacities a special trust responsibility. Our responsibility as to these bills relates to the use and protection of parklands. Therefore we take no position on Section 3 of H.R. 2702 at this time. However we reiterate our view that the term "Redskin" is offensive to many Americans.

That concludes my testimony and I will be pleased to answer questions the members of the Committee may have.

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE BILL RICHARDSON
before the Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests and Public Lands
on H.R. 2176 and H.R. 2702
November 5, 1993

I thank my colleague, Chairman Vento, for conducting this hearing on H.R. 2176 and H.R. 2702, bills which authorize the construction and operation of a sports stadium on National Park Service land within the District of Columbia. I look forward to hearing the testimony of the witnesses before us this morning and beginning dialogue on this legislation.

At the start, I want to express a couple of concerns I have with this legislation. H.R. 2176 and H.R. 2702 authorize the building of a sports stadium with a capacity of 78,900, including luxury sky suites and extended parking facilities. I am concerned about what this will do to the environment of the surrounding area. I want to make sure that all necessary precautions are taken to protect the area.

My second concern relates directly to who will use the new stadium - namely the Washington Redskins Football Organization. While the term "Redskins" may not be offensive to most of the American populace or even to some American Indians, there are large numbers of American Indians who strongly object to the use of the term. Moreover, they object to being portrayed on national television broadcasts by the "Redskin" team mascot as a dancing, shouting "Brave" with "warpaint" on his face surrounded by feathers. Unfortunately, this is the stereotyped image of the American Indians that many Americans believe. **Real pain and degradation is felt by the Indian people whose heritage is exploited in this way.**

Let's look at the origin of the term "Redskin". It began during a time when bounties were put on the heads of Indians. Hunters and trappers would bring pelts and furs to trading posts to trade for cash and goods. The trapper would tell the merchant how many fox pelts, raccoon skins, and red-skins he had for sale. The skin of the Indian was needed to prove that an Indian was indeed dead and the red came from the blood during skinning. Terms used during this brutal time in our history should not be so casually and carelessly used.

I have heard many of the arguments for keeping the team name. Some say it "honors" American Indians. To them I ask, do you think it would be acceptable to paint your face black, put on a curly black wig and dance around the football field imitating racial stereotypes of African Americans?

Some say that Christians don't seem to mind the names of the California Angels and the New Orleans Saints. To them I say - when the day comes and I hope I never see it - where their souvenirs include toy crucifixes, bibles and rosaries that are waved around each time the opposing quarterback is sacked and a team mascot dressed to look like an angry priest, minister or Pope runs onto the field and does a little dance, I think we would all be outraged.

Name calling by skin color has always been used to denigrate - never to honor. I see no reason why the American Indian should be the last victims of an era when racism and stereotyping were socially acceptable.

I serve as Chairman of the Native American Affairs Subcommittee of the House Natural Resources Committee. I am proud of the work we do in that Subcommittee and proud of the American Indian constituents I represent there and in my home State of New Mexico.

The issue of sports teams using names or logos which depict any race or human beings is morally wrong.

I understand that the Washington Redskins franchise is a private corporation which conducts business in the District of Columbia and that as a sports team it has done more than most to bring unity to this diverse city and for that I commend them.

The question here today is what role will the Federal government play. This government must be the defender of rights of all American people. We must continue to stand against those who would discriminate against or insult a minority by the use of derogatory names or terms which are offensive.

My friend and colleague, Senator Ben Campbell, has introduced legislation which would not allow the stadium to be used by an organization which exploits any racial or ethnic group. I am a co-sponsor of the House version of that bill, H.R. 2702.

I believe that we should take a stand and say that Federal lands will not be used in demeaning or degrading any group of human beings. This will leave no question as to what Congress and this Nation stands for.

I think a name change is long overdue here as well as other similarly named teams around the country and I challenge the Washington Redskins Football Organization to come up with a name befitting a team which represents the capital of the Free World.

Thank you.

130282

Date: **Wed, 5 Oct 1994 10:30:28 -0500 (CDT)**
From: **"adolph.l.soens.1@nd.edu" <Adolph.L.Soens.1@nd.edu>**
Reply-To: **Adolph.L.Soens.1@nd.edu**
To: **manleyb@ksgrsch.harvard.edu**
Subject: **redskins**

It's been a while, but I remember in bars in Cortez, Ignacio, Farmington, and, of course Gallup, comments from both bartenders and anglos, about "redskins and niggers" who were unable to drink "like white men." The racism in such comments, and in the term redskin is obvious and venomous. Further, The comment, which was reasonably standard and offered with a kowledgeable wink, substituted "Indians" for "Redskins" often enough to obviate ambiguity. Good Luck. Get 'em.

Adolph L. Soens
University of Notre Dame

Date: **Wed, 5 Oct 94 11:36:29 CDT**
From: **postema@cobber.cord.edu (Jim Postema)**
To: **manleyb@ksgrsch.harvard.edu**
Subject: **forwarded messages abt Redskins**

From nativelit-l@cornell.edu Wed Oct 5 07:56:53 1994
Return-Path: <nativelit-l@cornell.edu>
Received: from red-dwarf.cit.cornell.edu by cobber.cord.edu (4.1/SMI-4.1)
id AA28128; Wed, 5 Oct 94 07:56:51 CDT
Errors-To: idoy@crux2.cit.cornell.edu
Received: from red-dwarf.cit.cornell.edu ([127.0.0.1]) by red-dwarf.cit.corne
Comment:
Originator: nativelit-l@cornell.edu
Errors-To: idoy@crux2.cit.cornell.edu
Reply-To: nativelit-l@cornell.edu
Sender: nativelit-l@cornell.edu
Version: 5.5 -- Copyright (c) 1991/92, Anastasios Kotsikonas
From: richard mclamore <RVM93001@UConnVM.UConn.Edu>
To: Multiple recipients of list <nativelit-l@cornell.edu>
Subject: Re: Washington Redskins--stereotype project effort
Date: Wed, 5 Oct 1994 08:59:47 -0400
Status: RO

(which Hawthorne describes in Roger Malvin's Burial) and you will find that the bounties offered exacerbated the cruelty of the white militia. See Jeremy Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*.

From gwelker@mail.lmi.org Wed Oct 5 09:36:51 1994
Return-Path: <gwelker@mail.lmi.org>
Received: from relm.lmi.org by cobber.cord.edu (4.1/SMI-4.1)
id AA29151; Wed, 5 Oct 94 09:36:48 CDT
Received: from mail.lmi.org (mail.lmi.org [198.3.128.2]) by relm.lmi.org (8.6
Received: from ccMail by mail.lmi.org
id AA781379151 Wed, 05 Oct 94 10:45:51 EST
Date: Wed, 05 Oct 94 10:45:51 EST
Message-Id: <9409057813.AA781379151@mail.lmi.org>
To: postema@cobber.cord.edu (Jim Postema), manleyb@ksgrsch.harvard.edu,

Exhibit 93
NFL Film entitled:
"Lombardi"

Exhibit 94
NFL Film entitled:
"Warpath"

Exhibit 95
NFL Film entitled:
"Hail to the Redskins"

Exhibit 96
1961 NFL Film entitled:
"Washington Redskins"

Exhibit 97
1967 NFL Film entitled:
"Washington Redskins"

Exhibit 98
1971 NFL Film entitled:
"Washington Redskins"

Exhibit 99
1972 NFL Film entitled: "1972--Washington Redskins 26/Dallas 3 (NFC)"

Exhibit 100
1/14/93 NFL Film entitled: "Super Bowl VII - Miami 14, Washington 7"

Exhibit 101
1974 NFL Film entitled:
"Washington Redskins"

Exhibit 102
1978 NFL Film entitled:
"Washington Redskins"

Exhibit 103
1/30/83 NFL Film entitled:
"Super Bowl XVII -, Washington 27, Miami 17"

Exhibit 104
1/31/88 NFL Film entitled: "Super Bowl XXII -, Washington 42, Denver 10"

Exhibit 105
1/26/92 NFL Film entitled:
"Super Bowl XXVI -, Washington 37, Buffalo 24"

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

THE TREATMENT OF AMERICAN INDIANS IN SELECTED AMERICAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

A PAPER SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS IN TEACHING

BY

ARLENE B. HIRSCHFELDER

AUGUST, 1971

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Many American Indian organizations[1] and concerned individuals are currently trying to inform the American people about the cultures, histories, and contributions of American Indians.[2] They are also informing people about the maltreatment of Indians by non-Indians throughout the history of the United States. Few Americans have a complete and realistic picture of the part played by Indians in our history. Contributing to this ignorance of the populace concerning Indians are the authors of American history textbooks for the secondary level. The task of

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[1] Among those organizations actively engaged in informing and educating the American people concerning the histories and cultures of American Indians are the American Indian Historical Society, Americans for Indian Opportunity, Association on American Indian Affairs, California League for American Indians, National Congress of American Indians, and National Council on Indian Opportunity.

[2] "...Columbus's name for...Indians is to this day understood by many to refer to a single people. Despite the still commonly asked question, 'Do you speak Indian?' there is neither a single Indian people nor a single Indian language, but many different peoples, with different racial characteristics, different cultures, and different languages." Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. The Indian Heritage of America (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1969), p. 9. This author will use the plural form--Indians or natives--throughout the paper.

this inquiry will be to describe, analyze, and evaluate the authors' mishandling of content dealing with American Indians.

An examination of every topic in textbooks concerning Indians would result in a cursory treatment of a subject requiring more exhaustive study. Therefore, this paper will be limited to an investigation of the following topics: (1) the contributions and achievements of Indians, (2) the culture and history of Iroquois Indians, (3) the Chivington Massacre. In each case, the nature of the topic dictates the amount of space needed within the body of the paper.

Twenty-seven American history textbooks, published in the late fifties and sixties, were examined for their treatment of these three topics. Different textbooks written by the same author or authors were viewed as different books. Textbooks of two volume length were treated as one book. The books were chosen on the basis of their ready availability in university curriculum libraries and on the basis that they were generally representative of United States history textbooks in use in secondary schools.

Textbooks, according to one scholar,[3] are a major educational tool because they are so universally and consistently

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[3]Lloyd Marcus, The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1963), p. 3.

used throughout a child's school career. History textbooks, in particular, are important because they are so widely used at the primary and secondary levels. A serious problem involving the use of these books is that many of them are unreliable sources of information. They often put forth as fact controversial theories, and they present biased, misleading, inaccurate, and unrealistic material relating to American Indians. Many students who read these books are unlikely to question the information they find on the printed page--regarding content as inviolable. Since these students are not equipped to make the required value judgements concerning the merits of the material they are reading, the authors unwittingly give an intellectual and historical basis to the collection of stereotypes and myths young people have acquired about Indians principally from the mass communications media.[4]

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[4]The National Congress of American Indians, an all-Indian organization located in Washington, D.C., has created the American Indian Media Service (AIMS) Committee to help eliminate the false, derogatory, and harmful Indian stereotypes ("bloodthirsty savage" and "slovenly lazy drunk") that often appear in the communications media: television, newspapers, magazine ads, and radio. The goal is to work toward a more accurate and positive portrayal of Indians and their way of life. Colorful billboards, television public service announcements, and slogans ("The American Indian-A New Awareness and Readiness") are being used to tell of the Indians' cultures, their contributions to American society, and their value as employees in modern industry and business.

Jeannette Henry, a Cherokee Indian scholar, has discussed the analogy that an unreliable textbook, like a defective automobile, is a potential danger to individuals and should be retired:

> A textbook is an instrument of learning, which may be compared to an automobile as an instrument of transportation. An automobile which has defective brakes or is otherwise not dependable, is recalled by the manufacturer, so that lives may not be endangered. But a textbook which is defective, inaccurate, and unreliable, is not retired despite the possibility that minds may be endangered.[5]

A textbook usually remains in a school for a minimum of three to five years and sometimes more. If allowed to remain in schools, these texts will endanger not only one classroom of students but succeeding ones as well. Therefore, it is important that textbooks not be taken for granted but reviewed periodically for their reliability. In the context of this study, a reliable textbook is defined as one that contains accurate, unbiased, realistic, balanced, and sufficient information about American Indians.

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[5]American Indian Historical Society, Textbooks and the American Indian (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1970), p. 11.

CHAPTER I

CONTRIBUTIONS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF AMERICAN INDIANS

An awareness by students of the precise nature of our nation's Indian heritage is imperative if young people are to appreciate and to respect contemporary Indian cultures. Some minimal understanding of the contributive aspects of Indian cultures may eventually help free Indians from many pernicious stereotypes and alter white attitudes of superiority. In light of this, a detailed examination of the topic, "Contributions and Achievements of American Indians" in American history textbooks is critical in determining the reliability of the books.

Of the twenty-seven textbooks examined, eight contained no account whatsoever of Indians' accomplishments and contributions to American society.[6] This represented almost one-third

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[6]The eight textbooks that did not contain information on Indian accomplishments and achievements were: (1) John M. Blum et al. The National Experience (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1969), (2) Henry W. Bragdon and Samuel P. McCutchen, History of a Free People (New York: Macmillan Company, 1964), (3) Richard C. Brown, William C. Lang, and Mary A. Wheeler, The American Achievement (Morristown, N.J.: Silver Burdett Company, 1966), (4) Avery O. Craven and Walter Johnson, American History

of the texts examined. The remaining nineteen books contained some degree of information on the topic, all of which has been described and analyzed in detail in this chapter.

Few of these nineteen authors included sufficient information demonstrating the influences of Indians on American society. There were some excellent statements in textbooks concerning the nature of Indians' contributions, but they were paltry in number and concentrated in a handful of textbooks. In most cases, the writers relegated Indians to immaterial bystanders in American history by emphasizing the European nature of the origin of American culture. Granting that the framework of American society is European, authors have still failed to inform students that Indians were significantly involved in the dynamics of colonization and the frontier, gave a non-European cast to American folklore, and were a constant factor in the history of national expansion, and profoundly influenced American art. Only one textbook writer wrote a comparable statement: "Thus, the heritage of the United States is Indian as well as European. The Indian was to play an important part in the

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(Boston: Ginn and Company, 1961), (5) Wesley M. Gewehr et al. The United States: A History of a Democracy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960), (6) Rebekah R. Liebman and Gertrude A. Young, The Growth of America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959), (7) Dexter Perkins and Glyndon G. Van Deusen, The United States of America: A History (2 vol.; New York: Macmillan Company, 1962), (8) Oscar O. Winther and William H. Cartwright, The Story of Our Heritage (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1962).

white man's exploration and colonization of America."[7]

Not one author admits that there is still much that Indians can contribute to America's cultural enrichment. Textbook statements of Indians' contributions have been confined to the past tense: "showed," "taught," "learned," "helped," "invented," "played." One author's statement apparently has summed up what the rest of the authors must feel. "The Indians played a constant and vitally significant part in the history of Anglo-American civilization in North America from the beginning down to the end of the nineteenth century."[8] Words spoken in 1900 by Pleasant Porter, last elected chief of the Creek nation, challenges this statement:

> The vitality of our race still persists. We have not lived for naught. We are the original discoverers of this continent and the conquerors of it from the animal kingdom, and on it first taught the arts of peace and war, and first planted the institutions of virtue, truth, and liberty. The European nations found us here and were made aware that it was possible for men to exist and subsist here. We have given the European people on this continent our thought-forces--the best blood of our ancestors having intermingled with their best statesmen and leading citizens. We have made ourselves an indestructible element in their national history. We have led the vanguard of civilization in our conflicts with them for tribal existence from ocean to

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[7]Paul F. Boller, Jr. and Jean E. Tilford, This is Our Nation (St. Louis: Webster Publishing Company, 1961), p. 27.

[8]Max Savelle, A Short History of American Civilization (New York: Dryden Press, Inc., 1957), p. 28.

ocean. The race that has rendered this service to other nations of mankind cannot utterly perish.[9]

Most of the nineteen textbook authors included only references to the tangible, visible items of Indians' contributions which made the first impact on non-Indians. Primarily this includes the foods, the non-agricultural inventions, words, and geographic place-names that have been incorporated into American society to such an extent that it is easy to forget their true origins. The problem has been compounded by the historians' offering relatively few explanations about the significance of the Indians' contributions they mentioned.

Anthropologists have acknowledged that food products have been a major contribution of Indians to American society. However, only a little more than half of the nineteen authors who included some discussion of the contributions of American Indians in their textbooks mentioned food. Of these, only a handful attempted to evaluate the profound impact these food products had on European and American cultures in terms of enabling European settlers to survive in their new environment, changing completely the food economy and diet of Old World peoples, and laying the foundation for a distinctive American agriculture. A few examples from the texts illustrate the un-

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[9]Russell Carter, The Gift is Rich (New York: Friendship Press, 1968), p. 8.

even quality of the authors' narratives on America's Indian agricultural heritage:

> The Indians were very important in the settlement of America. The European settlers learned many things from the Indians of North America. European settlers learned how to plant corn, potatoes, squash, and pumpkins. These foods helped the settlers to stay alive.[10]

> Perhaps the Indians' most important gift was food. Modern meals would lack richness and vitamins...life would be much duller.[11]

> America today should feel extremely grateful to the Indians. They made possible our ancestors' own adjustment to this wonderfully rich continent.[12]

> The value of the contribution the American Indians have made to the world is beyond reckoning. Mankind will be forever in their debt...The amazing truth is that more than one-half of all the agricultural products in the world today came from plants originally discovered and cultivated by American Indians. The shelves of our stores are filled with these products...How different our eating habits would be if we didn't have corn, tomatoes, white and sweet potatoes, and the many varieties of beans![13]

> Did you know that the food the Indians first taught the Spaniards to use has been worth far, far more to the world than all the gold and silver discovered then

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[10]Jerome R. Reich and Edward L. Biller, Building the American Nation (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1968), p. 26.

[11]Glen W. Moon and Don C. Cline, Story of Our Land and People (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964), p. 14.

[12]Henry F. Graff, The Free and the Brave (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967), p. 11.

[13]Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti, Rise of the American Nation (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1966), p. 22.

or since?[14]

There is one textbook writer who conceded that "To their embarrassment, the settlers found that they had much to learn from the Indians."[15]

One writer mentioned that Indians taught settlers how to drain sap from maple trees and to turn it into maple sugar and syrup,[16] Two authors noted that Indians taught settlers how to stalk and catch game in the forest and catch fish in the streams, but none of the historians discussed the food production methods practiced by the Indians. For example, the fact that "The Indian taught the first settlers an advanced theory of fertilization by teaching them to place a fish in each hill of corn as they planted the fields"[17] has been totally ignored. The previous author acknowledged that "The early settlers learned how to plant Indian crops."[18] and went into no greater depth.

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[14]Mabel B. Casner et al. Story of the American Nation (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1962), p. 33.

[15]Henry F. Graff and John A. Krout, The Adventure of the American People: A History of the United States (New York: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), p. 32.

[16]Casner et al., American Nation, pp. 68-69.

[17]Carter, The Gift is Rich, p. 16.

[18]Casner et al., American Nation, pp. 68-69.

Perhaps the gravest omission of every textbook writer has been the fact that American Indians practiced agriculture without external assistance from non-Indians. Furthermore, they possessed the same intelligence, perseverance, and imagination as the first farmers of the "Old World."[19] The abilities of Indians to create and develop independently of non-Indians has never been demonstrated by writers of textbooks.

Thirteen authors included Indian contributions--other than food--by which settlers learned how to survive in their new environment. The colonists learned the "'milpa' or slash-and-burn system of clearing the land. First the trees were girdled in order to kill them and make them fall; then the trunks were burned and the wood-ash was spread over the cleared ground to prepare it for the first planting of 'maize' or corn."[20] One other textbook mentioned in passing that "Indians taught settlers...how to...girdle and kill trees before felling them."[21]

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[19]Harold E. Driver, Indians of North America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 54-55.

[20]Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron, The United States: The History of a Republic (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), p. 22.

[21]Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron, The American Republic (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959), I, 365.

Twelve authors credited Indians with teaching the white settlers how to travel the waterways by the use of the canoe. Only two textbooks explored this subject in any depth. "In its basic design, the canoe has never been improved upon since the Europeans saw it five hundred years ago. The design of the American whaling ships which first carried the American flag into the ports of the world was mainly modeled on the canoe."[22]

> The settlers also learned how to make light birch-bark canoes like those used by Indians. Carrying heavy wooden boats overland from one river to another would have been difficult. Building roads through forests in the early days would have taken valuable time and labor. But it was easy to carry canoes through the woods from lake to lake or from stream to stream. With canoes, settlers could use rivers and lakes as highways into the forest.[23]

In terms of survival, suitable clothing was essential for the early colonists. Their ability to adapt the necessary materials for use was a direct result of contact with Indians. Most of the historians failed to treat this aspect of Indians' contributions. Those that did gave superficial treatment. Only eight authors listed the snowshoe but no information was provided on its cultural development and function. Six authors listed the moccasin--without any accompanying commentary, and two listed deerskin clothing. The historians did not attempt

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[22]Graff, The Free and the Brave, p. 11.

[23]Casner et al., American Nation, p. 69.

to explain any of the meanings associated with these objects in Indian cultures. This is essential because when objects pass from one culture to another, they acquire different meanings in the frame of reference of the receiving culture.[24] The meanings and functions that have come to be associated with snowshoes, moccasins, deerskin clothing in contemporary America may be quite different from those intended by the original creators of these articles. One author, however, cleverly summed up the debt the colonists owed the Indians with a quotation from a New Englander --who is neither identified by name or by date:

> A moccasin's the best cover a man ever had for his feet in the woods, the easiest to get stuff for, the easiest to make, the easiest to wear. And a birch-bark canoe's the best boat a man can have on the river. It's the easiest to get stuff for, easiest to carry, the fastest to paddle. And a snowshoe's the best help a man can have in the winter. It's the easiest to get stuff for, the easiest to walk on, the easiest to carry.[25]

One writer credited Indians for teaching whites how to fight in open formation for greater safety.[26] Three mentioned how Indians taught settlers to make their way through forests over Indian trails. Only one author, however, clearly related trails to modern United States highways. "Some modern roads,

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[24]Hazel W. Hertzberg, The Great Tree and the Longhouse: The Culture of the Iroquois (New York: Macmillan Company, 1966), p. 10.

[25]Graff and Krout, Adventure, p. 48.

[26]Boller and Tilford, Nation, p. 27.

such as US Highway 40, include sections that were once Indian trails."[27] Textbook authors have not informed students that highways connecting American cities follow old, long-traveled Indian trails.

The authors did not include information concerning another basic way in which Indians helped early colonists adapt to the North American environment. Only one author related that the "European settlers also learned from American Indians how to build shelters."[28] but he neither mentioned the nature of the shelter nor the materials involved. It is worthwile to point out that shelters are determined by the physiography of geographic areas, the kind of climate with which peoples must contend, the available materials at hand for building, and the particular needs of the people who live in the shelters.

Only one author wrote of the Indians teaching white men the medicinal value of plants and herbs. It is regrettable that this particular life-long work of Indians in which some of their greatest contributions have been made is not fully discussed in textbooks. Many non-Indians probably assume medecine has always been the exclusive province of white men. It would be instructive forstudents to learn that native medecines were successfully

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[27]Moon and Cline, Land and Peonle, p. 14.

[28]Reich and Biller, Building the Nation, p. 26.

used for healing purposes before white physicians ever journeyed to America. After twenty-five of Cartier's men had died of scurvy, a band of friendly Iroquois Indians cured the rest by giving them a concoction of pine bark and needles, thus proving that pine products contained vitamin C.[29]

Some authors have accentuated the problem of paucity of detail by inserting remarks that detract from the constructive role of Indians in America:

> The American people, despite the lengthy record of bloody clashes, owe a genuine debt to the Indian. He traded the furs which kept many of the early colonies on their economic feet...He added immeasurably to our pioneering difficulties, but above all he helped make us a tough and resourceful people.[30] (Italics mine.)

Another author wrote: "In developing their ways of living in America, the settlers did not merely copy the Indians. People from Europe also brought to the New World many of their own products and methods of doing things."[31] (Italics mine.) Despite the accuracy of the statement that the colonists brought to America "their own products and methods of doing things" wrought from their own cultural experiences, the role and impact of Indian contributions in the early stages of colonial

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[29]Driver, Indians, p. 483.

[30]Thomas A. Bailey, The American Pageant: A History of the Republic (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1966), p. 571.

[31]Casner et al., American Nation, p. 69.

development has been minimized. This has been due to the manner and timing in which the historian credited the colonists for their inventiveness.

The foregoing textbook statements illustrate how history textbook authors have treated the critical role of Indians in helping the settlers adjust in basic ways to a strange environment. Indians' food and food production methods, modes of travel over land and by water, types of clothing, implements, shelter, and medecine helped the early settlers survive an environment which otherwise might have crushed them.

Another material and readily visible aspect of Indian cultures that has had an impact on the non-Indian American culture are Indian languages. Hundreds of Indian names, words, and expressions have been borrowed and incorporated into the English language permanently enriching it. Animals bear Indian names such as chipmunk, cougar, coyote, moose, opossum, raccoon, skunk, as well as trees--catalpa, hickory, pecan, persimmon, sequoia--and some sixty plants. Thousands of geographic place names for states, cities, small towns, counties, lakes, rivers, creeks, mountains and hills have been derived from American Indian languages. The English words and place-names are either the original Indian words or names, adaptations of the original, corruptions of Indian expressions, or translations into English or French equivalents.

Three authors who have written textbooks stated clearly that Indian words and expressions have enlivened the English language. "American Indians...enriched our vocabulary: hickory, caucus, wigwam, tomahawk, succotash, Indian file, hominy, pow-pow."[32] "The Indians added new words and expressions to the English language...Americans talk of 'going on the warpath,' or 'burying the hatchet.'"[33] "Our language is rich in Indian words --cigar, Tammany, hominy, and tuxedo, to name only a few."[34]

Seven writers included the fact that geographic place-names are adopted from American Indian languages. "...the Indians...left their stamp on the continent they had once claimed as their own. As explorers and frontiermen moved across the country, they often adopted the Indian names for different regions and for the physical features of the land."[35] "...hundreds of place-names, inlcuding the names of many states, are Indian in origin."[36] "Everywhere you go in the United States you will find Indian names. Cities, mountains, rivers, still bear the names the Indians gave them."[37] "...many features of

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[32]David Seville Muzzey and Arthur S. Link, Our American Heritage (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1963), p. 12.

[33]Moon and Cline, Land and People, p. 14.

[34]Graff, The Free and the Brave, p. 11.

[35]Casner et al., American Nation, p. 448.

[36]Graff, The Free and the Brave, p. 11.

[37]Moon and Cline, Land and People, p. 14.

Indian life have become part of our American legend...the innumerable place-names on our maps."[38] "The European settlers also borrowed many Indian names for villages, cities, lakes, rivers, and mountains throughout America. The names of twenty-six (sic) of our fifty states are taken from Indian names."[39] One author cited some poetry to illustrate his point:

> The memory of the red man
> How can it pass away,
> While their names of music linger
> On each mountain and stream and bay.
> Richard Huntington, The Indian Names of Arcadia[40]

Aside from the latter's good intentions, the poetry is totally inappropriate as an illustration of Indian linguistic influence on American society. In prolongs a misconception that Indians can be studied only in terms of the nation's past because they are a departed people rather than a living reality in modern America.

Only two authors gave examples of geographic place-names

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[38]Samuel Steinberg, The United States: Story of a Free People (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1964), p. 36.

[39]Boller and Tilford, Nation, p. 27. Actually, there are twenty-seven states that have names of Indian origin: Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, Connecticut, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Mexico, North and South Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

[40]Muzzey and Link, Heritage, p. 12.

to support their statements of the impact of Indian languages on English. "The influence of the Indian on our life today has been very great. Every state has rivers, lakes, or cities with Indian names--like the Mississippi River, Lake Winnepesaukee in New Hampshire, the city of Walla Walla, Washington."[41]

> Half of our states--including Massachusetts, Connecticut, Texas, Kansas, Kentucky, Wyoming, and Alabama--have names derived from the Indian languages. Thousands of our lakes and rivers, as well as our cities and towns and villages, bear Indian names. Today, few Americans who drive along the nation's roads and highways realize how many of the names on the road maps have come from an earlier way of life that has long since vanished.[42]

This last statement is misleading because it may cause readers to couple Indians with the "earlier way of life that has long since vanished." The statement is also incorrect in that the "earlier way of life" has not altogether vanished among certain tribes that have maintained the life styles of countless generations before them. Some of the Pueblos in the Southwest testify to the existence of "an earlier way of life" that has survived several hundred years. The meaning the author attaches to the phrase, "an earlier way of life," should be clearly defined for the reader.

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[41]Howard B. Wilder, Robert P. Ludlum, and Harriett McCune Brown, This is America's Story (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966), p. 113.

[42]Casner et al., American Nation, p. 448.

The preceding writer was, however, the only one who explained the process by which one of the states got its Indian name:

> Since the Indians had no written language, the frontiersmen spelled the words the way they thought they sounded. But the final result was often a long way from the original pronunciation. The name "Wisconsin" is a good example of this process. French explorers in this region paddled down a river that the Indians called "Meconsing." On French maps, the name appeared "Ouiconsing." When the English moved in, they changed the spelling to "Wisconsin."[43]

The history textbook discussions about the impact of Indians' material cultures on American society are finished with the inclusion, by three authors, of an Indian game adopted and played by non-Indians in contemporary America--lacrosse. A writer of a book about the contributions of American Indians to the American society aptly pointed out that:

> Americans today have earned the reputation for being a fun-loving people who like to play. Long, arduous hours of work have diminished, and carefree hours have lengthened. As a result, many have been hard pressed to find enough to do to fill the idle hours.
> Perhaps we might turn again to our Indian predecessors, for in a remarkable way they had learned the art of fun and play, and many of our games and social pastimes are simply refinements of their activities.[44]

The three historians who referred to the Indian game of lacrosse neither discussed the role of that game in the culture of the Indians who developed it or mentioned the significance of game-

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[43] Ibid.

[44] Carter, The Gift is Rich, p. 29.

playing in modern American society. "Indian games, such as lacrosse, which is played with a ball and racket, are popular in some parts of the United States."[45] A caption to a picture of Indian playing lacrosse reads: "The Indian lacrosse games sometimes lasted all day, with only brief intermissions. The game itself is one of the few contributions to present day American sports."[46] This last textbook statement apparently indicated the author's lack of knowledge regarding the number of games and social pastimes currently popular that are modifications of Indian activities enjoyed hundreds of years ago. Kickball, a game comparable to horseshoes, shinny, relay races, tug-of-war, diavolo, darts, husking bees were all played and some created by our Indian predecessors.

Textbook authors have completely omitted discussing the impact of Indian cultures on the scouting programs in America. "Scarcely a single activity of the Scouting work has not in some way been patterned after Indian customs and lore. Trailing, fire-building, signaling, construction of all types of shelter, using moccasins and canoes, are only a few."[47] It would be equally instructive for students to know that one of the persons

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[45]Moon and Cline, Land and People, p. 14.

[46]Savelle, American Civilization, p. 286.

[47]Carter, The Gift is Rich, p. 34.

largely responsible for the beginning of Scouting was a full-blooded Sioux Indian, Dr. Charles Alexander Eastman.

The boy scout handbook of the twentieth century contains a noteworthy and relevant statement in terms of Indian contributions to American life: "...it is a pity that most boys think of head-dresses, war whoop, tomahawks, and scalps the instant Indians are mentioned...There are so many thousands of beautiful and desirable things in their lives that it is safe to say that they can offer boys a mighty good code of sport and happiness."[48] It is the history textbook writers who have been partially responsible for perpetuating this "head-dresses, war whoop, tomahawk, and scalps" image of the Indians.

Collectively, history textbook writers may assert that given the time and space limitations of a textbook, they have fairly treated the contributions of Indians to American society. They are mistaken, however, in their beliefs that material and observable elements justly and wholly represent Indians' contributions. At least of equal significance has been the impact of American Indians on non-Indians' minds. It is in this area that the authors completely neglect to enlighten their readers. They

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[48]A. Irving Hallowell, "The Backwash of the Frontier: The Impact of the Indian on American Culture," quoted in Walker D. Wyman and Clifton B. Kroeber, The Frontier in Perspective (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), p. 233.

have not described and assessed the ways in which non-Indians were changed in a non-material sense by imperceptible encounters with Indians. This includes the general appeal that Indian societies have held for non-Indians, the influence of Indians on diverse intellectual and artistic disciplines, the great respect of Indians for the land, the oratorical skills of Indians, and the achievements of individual Indians, both past and present.

Anthropologists and historians have studied the influence of Indian societies on non-Indians. One scholar noted that:

> No sooner did the first whites arrive in North America than a disproportionate number of them showed they preferred Indian society to their own. Within only a few years after Virginia was settled, more than forty male colonists had married Indian women, and several English women had married Indians. There was only one reason why the colony of Virginia instituted severe penalties against going to live with Indians: Whites were doing just that, and in increasing numbers.[49]

Indianization (the process by which one adopts the ways of the Indians) impressed Michel Guillame Jean de Crevecoeur who wrote in 1782 in his Letters from an American Farmer:

> It cannot be, therefore, so bad as we generally conceive it to be; there must be in the Indians' social bond something singularly captivating and far superior to be boasted of among us; for thousands of Europeans are Indians; and we have no examples of even one of those Aborigines having

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[49]Peter Farb, Man's Rise to Civilization as Shown by the Indians of North America from Primitive Times to the Coming of the Industrial State (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1968), pp. 261-262.

from choice become Europeans.[50]

Another prominent anthropologist wrote:

> It is interesting to recall, when white adults, and especially children, were captured in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries by many different groups of Indians and lived among them in daily intimacy, the apparent ease with which these individuals adjusted themselves to Indian culture...These "white Indians" often refused to return to the mode of life into which they had been born, even when given an opportunity.[51]

Every textbook writer, with the exception of one, has omitted mention of the appeal that Indian societies have held for generations of whites. The following statement, direct, honest, and accurate, represents the only textbook reference to transculturation: "Some white captives, women and children, became accustomed to life in an Indian village and refused to return to white civilization."[52]

It is regrettable that the authors have chosen not to expand on the reasons why non-Indians preferred to remain in Indian societies even when given the chance to leave. Part of the answer can be found in those characteristics of Indian societies that have made them attractive to thousands of whites--hospitality and sharing. "One of the things that amazed the

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[50] Ibid., 262.

[51] Hallowell, "Backwash of the Frontier," pp. 234-235.

[52] Perkins and Van Deusen, History, p. 108.

earliest explorers, almost without exception, was the hospitality with which Indians received them. When the Indians later learned that the whites posed a threat, their attitudes changed, but the initial contacts were idyllic."[53]

In an intangible way, Indians have influenced or inspired the students of a variety of disciplines. Novelists and poets have been affected.

> They /Indians/ have influenced our literature far beyond Cooper's Mohicans and Longfellow's Hiawatha, which is our truest national epic. Edna Ferber, Hamlin Garland, Helen Hunt Jackson, and Oliver LaFarge are a few among many who have portrayed Indians in novels. Thomas Wolfe and Ernest Hemingway used Indian themes in short stories, while Philip Freneau, John Neihardt, Lew Sarett, and Walt Whitman glorified them in poetry.[54]

> Every novel set in the pioneer period, which was as late as 1900 in some parts of the West, gives some space to Indians and their culture.[55]

Indians have influenced the disciplines of anthropology and its adherents: "The development of anthropology as the science of man stemmed largely from studies of American Indian tribes."[56]

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[53]Farb, Man's Rise to Civilization, p. 262.

[54]Virgil J. Vogel, "The Indian in American History Textbooks," Integrated Education, VI, No. 3 (May-June, 1968), 24.

[55]Driver, Indians, p. 610.

[56]Clark Wissler, "Contributions of the American Indian," quoted in Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, eds., One America: The History, Contributions, and Present Problems of Our Racial and National Minorities (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945), p. 584.

"American anthropologists[57] have laboured most industriously to provide more and more authentic information about aboriginal modes of life and the influence of American culture on the Indian."[58] Linguists have been interested in Indians: "Indian languages began to be studied and classified objectively, thus making important contributions to philogical science, in which men like Jefferson, Duponceau, Barton, Gallatin, and others played an important role."[59] Painters, craftsmen, and architects have been inspired by Indians: "Among painters who made their reputation with Indian subjects are Carl Bodmer, George Catlin, Frederick Remington, and Alfred Miller."[60]

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[57]A Sioux Indian, Vine Deloria, Jr., gives a vituperative account of the effects of anthropologists on Indians in his book, Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto (New York: Macmillan Company, 1969), p. 78. "Every summer when school is out, a stream of immigrants heads into Indian country. The Oregon Trail was never so heavily populated as are Route 66 and Highway 18 in the summertime. From every rock and cranny in the East they emerge, as if responding to some primeval fertility rite, and flock to the reservations. 'They' are the anthropologists... the most prominent members of the scholarly community that infests the land of the free, and, in the summertime, the homes of the braves."

[58]Hallowell, "Backwash of the Frontier," p. 256.

[59]Wissler, "Contributions," p. 584.

[60]Vogel, "Textbooks," p. 25.

> We should recognize the Indians' own art, from which we have borrowed much...one need but stroll the halls of a large museum to note the Indian originality of design as seen in beadwork, rawhide painting, quill-work, textiles, baskets, and pottery...In pueblo architecture, we have a style influencing the house types of our contemporary Southwest.[61]

> Their Indian arts and designs have influenced our arts, jewelry, home decoration, and even our architecture... The Army modified the Plains tepee into the Sibley tent ...The Quonset hut...has both an Indian name and an Indian design.[62]

Musicians have been affected by Indians:

> Indians have influenced composers of music; among these indebted to them are Charles Wakefield Cadman, Anton Dvorak, Anton P. Heinrich, Victor Herbert, Thurlow Lieurance, Harvey W. Loomis, Edward A. McDowell, and Charles S. Skilton.[63]

Religion, too, has been influenced by American Indians: "In Spiritualism, the United Society of Believers (Shakers), and the Church of the Later-Day Saints (Mormons), the American Indians had special significance for the founders or adherents."[64]

Not one textbook writer has discussed the influence Indians have had on the previously mentioned disciplines. This lack of treatment is an omission of grave proportions. Readers of textbooks are denied valuable information that illustrates

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[61]Wissler, "Contributions," p. 585.

[62]Vogel, "Textbooks," pp. 24-25.

[63]Ibid., 24.

[64]Hallowell, "Backwash of the Frontier," p. 242.

the far-reaching effects of Indians on non-Indians' intellectual and creative endeavors.

Perhaps one of the greatest non-material American Indian contributions has been their great respect for the land. John Collier poetically wrote: "They had what the world has lost. They have it now. What the world has lost, the world must have again, lest it die...It is the...lost reverence and passion for the earth and its web of life."[65] Hundreds of pages have been written by non-Indians on the Indians' "reverence and passion" for land. The following non-Indian writer, for example, contrasts the Indians and non-Indians' approach to land and affirms the contributive nature of the Indians' feeling:

> It has been repeatedly stated in textbooks and popular histories that although the American Indian had a smattering of medical knowledge and did teach the pilgrims how to survive, they never really put this continent to any appreciable use, nor even fulfilled its vast potential. As occupiers of it now for four centuries, we have had our chance to fulfill that potential: among the many great things we have created here, we have also turned the rivers and lakes into sluggish sewers, over-and-unplanned cultivation of former Indian hunting grounds have turned the plains into dustbowls; to us, forests are sources of lumber and paper, and we have chopped them down wholesale to unleash floods and erosion. True, our lives have been enriched by coal and tin, dams, and cotton and barley. But it is worth noting...the philosophical difference that is so apparent: ours being the zealous USE of the land; the Indians' being one of conserving, not 'spending.' A tree, to an American Indian, is a living breathing being. A tree, to an American white, is a roll of paper or a patio chair. Perhaps, then,

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[65]John Collier, Indians of the Americas (New York: New American Library, 1947), p. 7.

> the greatest American Indian contribution is this sense of respect for the land.[66]

Former Secretary of the Interior, Stewart L. Udall, implicitly accepted the preceding interpretation. He wrote in his book, The Quiet Crisis: "It is ironical that today the conservation movement finds itself turning back to ancient Indian land ideas ...that unborn generations have a claim on the land equal to our own, and most important of all, we are recovering a sense of reverence for the land."[67]

In a conversation with a newspaper reporter, George Clutesi, a Canadian Indian author, personified the Indians' beliefs about land when he said:

> And the white man accuses the Indian of living for the day! No. We did not ever. We live for centuries ahead. You are the people who live for the day, destroying wherever you go. You do not worry about your grandchildren and how they will live. We think every day of our grandchildren. I plant a patch of strawberries. The children come. "Grandpa, may I have some strawberries? Of course, you can, it's yours."[68]

Another American Indian, Clarence Pickernall, who published a poem in the April, 1969 issue of the Seattle Indian Center News illustrates the Indians' respect for land:

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[66]Molly Gregory Cox, "Indian Contributions of American Life," Native Nevadan, September, 1969, p. 2.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Hilda Mortimer, "White Men Advised to Return to Nature," Montreal Star, August 9, 1969, n.p.

Wha-neh Wha-neh, the great giver
of life
Made me out of the earth of
this land.
He said, "you are the land,
and the land is you."
I take good care of this land,
For I am part of it...
I take care of the streams
and rivers,
For they clean my land...
I am forever grateful for this beautiful
and bountiful earth.
God gave it to me.
This is my land.

The above statements, written in 1969, differ little in substance from what three Seneca chiefs, Cornplanter, Halftown, and Great-tree, said in 1790: "The land we live on, our fathers received from God, and he transmitted it to us, for our children..." Reverence for land has always been an integral part of Indians' thought and actions, and it still prevails among many of them.

The textbook authors committed a grave error by omitting a discussion of Indians' respect for and conservation of land. This topic presents a fine opportunity for writers to increase young people's understanding and respect for Indian beliefs.

Textbook authors are guilty of giving shape, but not substance to American Indians. The natives' thoughts and feelings as reflected in their oratory have rarely been considered in textbooks--as opposed to their actions which have been recounted with monotonous and erroneous regularity. American Indians developed public speaking into an art form which is under-

standable in light of the pre-white tradition among Indians of oral transmission of ideas, rather than written. Their oratorical skills had considerable impact on Euro-Americans. "The speeches made by Indians in treaty negotiations aroused so much interest in native oratory that a novel literary form, with no prototype in Europe, emerged. Verbatim reports of these conferences were widely circulated and read in printed form."[69]

The writers of history textbooks have made no mention of Indian oratory. In his Foreward to a book entitled Indian Oratory, a collection of notable speeches by early-day leaders of Indian tribes, William R. Carmack explained:

> Around the council fires tribal affairs were settled without benefit of the written word, and young men attended so that they could hear the speeches, observe their delivery, and consider the weight of reasoned argument. Speakers at tribal councils were men of eminence in war or council or both. They were also men of dignity and ability, well trained in the oral tradition. Their speeches, which would do credit to any Athenian orator, should dispel for all time the myth of the Indian as ignorant savage. That these eloquent, moving speeches were often made with telling use of wit and sarcasm destroys the stereotype of the stoic, silent, humorless red man.
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> Each of these speeches was delivered without a prompter, without a speech writer, without a public-address system--with only the speaker's training, memory, and natural ability to aid him. The structure and form are sound, the use of literary devices is effective, and the messages are clear and poignant.[70]

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[69]Hallowell, "Backwash of the Frontier," p. 232.

[70]W.C. Vanderwerth, comp., Indian Oratory: Famous Speeches by Indian Chieftains (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), p. viii.

A fine example of Indian prose was a speech[71] by Chief Joseph, Nez Percé, printed in the North American Review, April, 1879 entitled "Chief Joseph: An Indian's View of Indian Affairs." A wealth of material has been written by non-Indians about Chief Joseph's conduct of the Nez Percé War but this speech has had special value in that Chief Joseph presented his interpretation of his tribe's war with the United States in 1877. This interpretation therefore has added a new dimension to one's understanding of the war. Of the six historians who mentioned the Nez Percé War of 1877 in some detail not one referred to Chief Joseph's account which stressed the role of several United States army generals in the hostilities.

By including Indians' actions and excluding Indians' thoughts and feelings as reflected in their oratory, the authors have left readers to determine for themselves the precise nature of Indian thinking and sentiments. Students are apt to conclude Indians have no opinions as well as no ability to think or express themselves because they have never been permitted to voice a philosophy, set of values, or human emotions in the contents of the textbooks. A compelling argument, then, for including

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[71]Many Indians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, who were unable to write, told stories about themselves and their tribes' histories and cultures to Indian or non-Indian translators. These oral accounts were later published.

Indian speeches in textbooks is to quell or destroy the myth that Indians are mindless and inarticulate. This particular stereotype is perpetuated as long as textbook writers keep Indians silent.

In some of the prefaces to history textbooks, writers tell their readers that people have always been an essential part of American history. A group of authors have promised, therefore, that space in their book will be "devoted to lives of great Americans."[72] Other writers noted they are "keenly aware that history starts with the lives of individuals," so they have "throughout laid unusual emphasis on people."[73] A group of historians immediately prefaced their book with "men make history" so their book "focuses continually on the men... who make history."[74] One author who wants his text read with pleasure and excitement "purposely thrust(s) the human actors forward on the stage."[75]

The majority of Americans, past and present, singled out for biographical descriptions in textbooks have usually been white, Euro-Americans whose ways of thinking, feeling, and acting are characteristic of the dominant United States culture.

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[72]Casner et al., American Nation.

[73]Graff and Krout, Adventure.

[74]Blum et al., National Experience.

[75]Baily, American Pageant.

This aspect of text narrative correctly reflects the numerical majority of white-Christians in the United States, but obscures the multi-ethnic nature of American society. In its own study of forty-eight leading secondary history, social science, and world textbooks which included sixteen American history textbooks, the Anti-Defamation League found that "a majority of books present a largely, white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon view of history and the current social scene. The complex problems and nature of American minority groups are largely neglected, or, in a number of cases, distorted."[76] Because members of all of America's cultural groups have helped to shape American history, the multi-cultural reality of American history must be recognized and treated honestly in all school history curriculums.

American history textbooks have contained little biographical or autobiographical material on American Indians of the past and virtually ignore contemporary natives. Several reasons may account for this. Textbook writers in considering which persons to highlight in the course of their books have not had to consider Indians at all. According to anthropologists who have identified the values and basic principles governing

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[76]Marcus, Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks, p. 3.

the behavior of Indians,[77] natives generally have eschewed wealth, conspicuous material consumption, competition, and success. They have rejected the Protestant Ethic that makes a virtue of work and the notion that men should be masters of nature. They have rejected also an exclusively scientific approach to problem-solving.[78] Because of this behavioral orientation, large numbers of Indians have chosen not to participate in the dominant American culture, which stresses work, competition, individuality, success, accumulation of wealth and property, conspicuous consumption and production, and a scientific approach to problem-solving. Apparently, then, textbook writers who have written nothing about historic or contemporary American Indians have not been judging them from dominant American cultural standards, but rather they have not been considering them at all. Ironically, the first Americans have been "invisible" because they shun the dominant culture's approach to life.

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[77]In a book designed for those interested or engaged in American Indian education, the author wrote: "It is difficult... to generalize about a group of people. There are Indian tribal differences and there are important individual differences... with due caution, however, a knowledge of uniformities can be helpful." William H. Kelly, "Cultural Practices and Values of Educational Significance," quoted in Norman C. Greenberg and Gilda M. Greenberg, Education of the American Indian in Today's World (Dubuque: William C. Brown Company, 1964), p. 12.

[78]Kelly, "Cultural Practices and Values," p. 13; Mark Roberts, A Short Summary of the History of the Northern Cheyenne People (Northern Cheyenne Reservation, 1969), p. 14.

Some textbook writers may unconsciously or consciously evaluate the contributions and achievements of minority groups "by the degree to which they have successfully participated as individuals in a rival culture."[79] According to Professor Virgil J. Vogel, this is a trap, especially when measuring the worth of Indian people because "Indians are few in numbers and have lived a separate life," and "cannot point to a large number of such persons."[80]

According to one group of educators, readers of textbooks have invariably been introduced to those Indians "who befriended and protected the Pilgrims; who acted as interpretors and guides as the white man extended his toehold on the continent; and who waged war against the colonists, resisting the encroachment of the whites into Indian lands."[81] Students have read about "fierce" Indian war chiefs such as Geronimo, Black Hawk, and Crazy Horse, and friendly Indians such as Squanto and Sacajawea. They have been denied, however, pertinent information on Sequoyah, Cherokee scholar, believed to be the only man in history to conceive and perfect an alphabet by himself. He did

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[79]Vogel, "Textbooks," p. 27.

[80]Ibid.

[81]Marjorie Jefferson, Delmar Nordquist, and Kenji Onishi, Role of Racial Minorities in the United States: A Resource Book for Seattle Teachers (Seattle: Seattle Public Schools, 1968), p. 50.

this within the space of twelve years, 1809 to 1821. The alphabet which consists of eighty-six or seven characters is a system in which single characters represent sounds or syllables. A missionary to the Cherokees, Samuel A. Worcester, explained Sequoyah's (whose English name is George Guess) invention in this way:

> A form of alphabet writing invented by a Cherokee named George Guess, who does not speak English, and was never taught to read English books, is affecting great notice among the people generally. Having become acquainted with the principles of the alphabet, viz: that marks can be made of the symbols of sound, this uninstructed man conceived the notion that he could express all the syllables in the Cherokee language by marks, or characters. On collecting all the syllables which, after long study and trial, he could recall to his memory, he found the number to be 82. In order to express these he took the letters of our alphabet for a part of them and various modifications of our letters, with some characters of his invention for the rest. With these symbols he set about writing letters, and very soon a correspondence was actually maintained between the Cherokees in Wills Valley and their countrymen beyond the Mississippi, 500 miles apart. This was done by individuals who could not speak English, and who had never learned any alphabet, except this syllabic one, which Guess invented, taught to others, and introduced into practice...[82]

The Cherokee tribe, without schools, books, or external help learned how to read and write their own language in a little over a year. A contemporary of Sequoyah wrote:

> I frequently saw as I rode from place to place, Cherokee letters painted or cut on the trees, by the roadside, on fences, houses, and often on pieces of bark or board, lying about the houses. The alphabet of Guess has never been taught in schools. The people have learned it

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[82]Grant Foreman, Sequoyah (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), pp. 12-13.

> from one another; and that too without books, or paper, or any othe common facilities for writing or teaching. They cut the letters, or drew them with a piece of coal, or with paint. Bark, trees, fences, the walls of houses, etc., answered the purpose of slates.[83]

Only two textbooks out of twenty-seven mentioned the name of Sequoyah. One author briefly stated that "Sequoyah was a Cherokee scholar who devised an alphabet of 87 characters for the Cherokee tongue, thus enabling his tribesmen to read and write in their own language."[84] The second author, as a tribute to Sequoyah, provided a lengthy narrative involving two entire pages in the textbook. A detailed story about the Cherokee's childhood, his work in conceiving the alphabet, the fear he inspired in his own people who were naturally superstitious, the ways he proved the workability and usefulness of the alphabet, and tne "schooling" of the Cherokee tribe in the syllabry offer memorable reading as well as knowledge about a remarkable American. The historian finished his story with a count of the tributes accorded Sequoyah:

> Today a mountain in Tennessee and a county in Oklahoma are named for Sequoya (sic). Georgia put up a monument in his memory. A statue of him stands in the National Capitol. On the doord of the Annex of the Library of Congress are tributes to the alphabet makers. Among them is Sequoya, who made learning possible for his entire tribe. He is the only man in history to invent and make an alphabet all by himself. One honor captures the imagination. The in-

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[83] Ibid., 29.

[84] Muzzey and Link, Heritage, p. 357.

sulting name given the Lame One was chosen for the Big Trees of California, the Sequoias.[85]

For a nation whose spokesmen persistently preach the virtues and benefits that derive from literacy, Sequoyah's life and work offer a valuable and historic example of one man's faith in this national belief. It is ironic, however, that such an exemplary and outstanding man whose objective was to make his nation literate has been virtually ignored by a group of writers who expect millions of students to read their textbooks about the history of the American nation.

In examining the history textbooks for references to contemporary Indians, it is possible to find only one mention of them. "...many a person of Indian descent has found an important place in the new society. Examples include Olympic athlete Jim Thorpe, Vice President Charles Curtis, humorist Will Rogers, and ballerina Maria Tallchief."[86] It is unfortunate that the only textbook writer who has taken note of contemporary Indians considerably weakens his reference by the criteria he has used to inlcude them. The Indians credited are those who have disassociated themselves from other Indians--and are no longer regarded as such by them--and who have achieved

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[85]John W. Caughey, John Hope Franklin, and Ernest R. May, Land of the Free: A History of the United States (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1966), p. 219B.

[86]Ibid., 49.

their successes in the non-Indian culture. This criticism is not meant to suggest that Indians should not compete in the rival culture if that is their choice, but rather that textbook authors overlook evaluating those Indians who have participated effectively within the context of their own culture and have earned the high praise, "He was a great man among his own kind." There are Indians who have distinguished themselves in the eyes of Indians and non-Indians alike. For example, Annie Dodge Wauneka, a Navajo woman has done significant community health work, markedly decreasing the Navajo mortality rate attributable to tuberculosis. For her efforts, she was presented with the Presidential Medal of Freedom Award, the nation's highest civilian award, in 1963. This is presented to persons who have made outstanding contributions to the national interest or the country's security, to world peace, or who have participated in significant public or private endeavors. Mrs. Wauneka's citation reads: "...by her long crusade for improved health programs, she has helped dramatically to lessen the menace of disease among her people and to improve their way of life."[87]

In 1951, Mrs. Wauneka was the first Navajo woman elected to the Navajo Tribal Council, which represents the largest Indian tribe in the nation. It is evident from the preceding in-

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[87]Lela and Rufus Waltrip, Indian Women (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1964), p. 145.

formation that this woman has earned recognition--both from Indians and non-Indians. She deserves to be acknowledged by textbook writers.

Textbook authors have also omitted a discussion of the record of Indians in both World Wars. Approximately eight thousand Indians served in the Armed Forces during the First World War and about twenty-five thousand served in the Second World War. Because there were so many Indian volunteers, the representation of this minority group in the Forces was relatively great. Their combat record was excellent: "Indians fought on all fronts in Europe and Asia winning (according to an incomplete account) seventy-one awards of the Air Medal, fifty-one of the Silver Star, forty-seven of the Bronze Star, thirty-four of the Distinguished Flying Cross, and two of the Congressional Medal of Honor."[88] The Navajo Marines used their language as a battlefield code which the Japanese could not break. Ira Hayes, a Pima Indian, with five other Marines, raised the United States flag on Mount Suribachi on the island of Iwo Jima. He is in the world famous photograph that depicts that moment. Despite the fact that Hayes died of acute alcoholism in a field on the Pima Reservation in 1955, students are entitled to know that an Indian participated in the valorous moment on Mount Suribachi.

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[88]United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Answers to Your Questions About Indians (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 7-8.

It is clear from the preceding analyses that history textbook authors have denied Indians a proper place in American history. Their contributions, material and non-material; achievements; cultures; and relationships with non-Indians in the American past have been virtually ignored by the writers. Obviously, the latter must revise their information about Indians. Damaging myths, inaccuracies, misimpressions, and omissions involving natives that frequent so many American history textbooks must be eliminated. Instead, knowledge about the precise nature of Indian thought and actions in American history should be truthfully recorded.

CHAPTER II

IROQUOIS INDIANS

A close examination of the treatment of individual Indian tribes, particularly the Iroquois, illustrates the inadequate, inaccurate, misleading, and lackluster textbook writing on American Indians. The Iroquois Tribes warrant some space in textbooks both for the different and complex life styles they have led and for the relationships they have had with whites throughout the course of American history up until the present day.

Of the twenty-seven books examined for information on Iroquois Indians, three historians did not mention them at all[89] and another three writers briefly referred to them--once.[90] Essentially, then, six authors disregarded the Iroquois in their textbooks.

In terms of cultural information about Iroquois Indians,

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[89]Gewehr et al., History of a Democracy; Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron, Structure of American History (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964); Wilder, America's Story.

[90]Brown, The American Achievement; Perkins and Van Deusen, History; Reich and Biller, Building the Nation.

the textbooks have presented an array of misinformation, misimpressions, omissions, and ethnocentricity. The Iroquois are generally introduced into books as "greatly feared by their enemies...and respected by their friends";[91] "the most famous of the Eastern woodland Indians";[92] "more advanced"[93] than other tribes; "best known of the East Indians";[94] and "one of the most important groups of Eastern Indians."[95] Only one author, however, mentioned the names of the tribes that composed the Iroquois, and this information was conveyed not in the main body of the text, but in a picture caption: "...the Finger Lakes of New York bear the proud names of the five original tribes--Mohawk, Seneca, Oneida, Cayuga, and Onondaga. After 1700 when the Tuscaroras of North Carolina joined the Confederation, the Five Nations as they were called, became the Six Nations."[96] The only other references that the Iroquois were (and are) several tribes were so oblique that it would be virtually impos-

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[91]Todd and Curti, American Nation, p. 50.

[92]Reich and Biller, Building the Nation, p. 25.

[93]David Seville Muzzey, Our Country's History (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1961), p. 24; Muzzey and Link, Heritage, p. 12.

[94]Graff, The Free and the Brave, p. 9.

[95]Liebman and Young, Growth of America, p. 48.

[96]Todd and Curti, American Nation, p. 50.

sible for uninformed readers to understand the formally organized, multi-tribal organization of the Iroquois: "five (later six) tribes joined together to form the League of the Iroquois";[97] "the Iroquois...brought five, later six tribes or nations into an effective confederacy";[98] "Five Nations home valley in New York";[99] a caption to a map locating the Iroquois tribes--"Iroquois formed League of Five Nations";[100] and finally, "The Iroquois were divided into five nations, or groups of Indians."[101] All except one of the writers, omitted, then, even a rudimentary explanation of Iroquois structure, and all ignored explaining that the tribes' cultural and linguistic similarities made confederation possible.

Only one author went into adequate detail explaining the territory of the Iroquois tribes avoiding the inappropriate textbook map label of "Eastern Woodland Indians":[102]

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[97]Edna McGuire and Thomas B. Portwood, Our Free Nation (New York: Macmillan Company, 1961), p. 263.

[98]Caughey, Land of the Free, p. 43.

[99]Hofstadter, American Republic, p. 126.

[100]Wilder, America's Story, p. 114.

[101]Reich and Biller, Building the Nation, p. 25.

[102]Jack D. Forbes, an American Indian scholar, deplores the use of map labels such as "Eastern Woodland Indians." He has written in his handbook that: "Teachers, Indian laymen, and other concerned with understanding the history of Native Americans are unfortunately confronted with textbooks, maps, and guides

> The heart of the Iroquois empire extended across the rich central valley of present day New York State, from the Hudson River to the Genessee...No more strategic terrain was to be found in all North America...At its peak in the eighteenth century, the Iroquois empire spread some 800 miles between the Appalachians and the Mississippi, southwesterly from the Five Nations' home valley in New York... immensely rich fur empire.[103]

There are no other textbook comments regarding the nature of the region that the Iroquois occupied. One author, however, cited an observation of Francis Parkman, on the attitude of the Iroquois toward their land empire. In Parkman's judgement, it "gave the.../Iroquois/ confederates advantages they perfectly understood and by which they profited to the utmost."[104] If the other authors had each devoted one paragraph to the rich nature of the Iroquois land empire, it would have helped to ex-

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which either classify native groups in an erroneous manner or which use some system of categorization whose underlying assumptions are not fully explained. One often sees, for example, maps of the 'Indian Tribes of North America' which gives the impression of: 1) simultaneity for the various locations assigned to 'tribes' when in fact the latter may be as much as two centuries apart (e.g., the location of the...Delaware may be as of the early seventeenth-century while the location of the...Sioux is as of the mid-nineteenth century; 2) dealing with equivalent social units when in fact the groups shown on the map may vary from language families to loose confederacies to idiomalities to actual political units; and 3) assigning all of the groups to a language family, when in fact we possess only the weakest kind of evidence relating to the languages formerly spoken by many groups in northern Mexico, Texas, and the South. The names applied to native groups are very seldom the people's own names... But even when a native name has always existed, white writers have often persisted in using an alien term. Native Americans of California and Nevada: A Handbook (Berkeley: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1968), pp. 121-122.

[103] Hofstadter, American Republic, pp. 123-126.

[104] Ibid., pp. 123-124

plain the subsequent struggles among the Iroquois, French, British, and American colonials for possession of the area.

The few authors who wanted to convey some notion of the behavior of the Iroquois described it in warlike terms: "The Iroquois whose tribes were the most warlike in the eastern part of North America."[105] "These Indians (Iroquois) were constantly at war with other tribes. They fought so often that the leaders began to fear that there would not be enough young men to protect their homes. For a while they kept the strongest of the enemies whom they captured and made them members of their tribe to replace their own warriors who had been killed."[106] One author quoted a Jesuit, Lafitau, who "knew the Iroquois at the peak of their prosperity toward the end of the seventeenth century"[107] to document his point: "they /Iroquois/ have taken the ascendant over the other nations, divided and overcome the most warlike, made themselves a terror to the most remote..."[108] To push his point even further, the same historian quoted from Francis Parkman: "Among all the barbarous nations of the continent, the Iroquois of New York stand paramount...ferocious

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[105]Wilder, America's Story, p. 119.

[106]Liebman and Young, Growth of America, pp. 48-49.

[107]Ibid., 123.

[108]Ibid.

vitality, which, but for the presence of the Europeans, would probably have subjected, absorbed, or exterminated every other Indian community east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio."[109] At another point in his narrative, the above author refers to "Iroquois warriors."[110] Two textbooks contained identical references that the Iroquois "were constantly on the warpath."[111] One of the preceding authors pursued the matter with "They had such noble qualities as dignity, courage, and endurance, but they often tortured captured enemies."[112] Although the last part of the previous statement was accurate in that the fate of Iroquois prisoners who were not adopted was a cruel one, it was nevertheless deceptive because torturing one's enemies was an accepted code of behavior among Indians and non-Indians. A misimpression that Iroquois were brutal to enemies has been created by the omission of pertinent data regarding the similar behavior of non-Indians.

It is evident that none of the textbook authors provided accurate and balanced information on Iroquois behavior. Iroquois men, before contact with non-Indians, were hunters as

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[109] Ibid. [110] Ibid., 126.

[111] Muzzey, Our Country's History, p. 24; Muzzey and Link, Heritage, p. 12.

[112] Muzzey, Our Country's History, p. 24.

well as warriors, the former being an extremely important job in their lives. They were also craftsmen, physicians, politicians, dancers, and religious leaders. These particular roles of Iroquois men were ignored, however, in favor of stressing their warlike behavior.

None of the authors compared or contrasted pre-Columbian Iroquois attitudes about sexual roles with contemporary European and colonial American attitudes. The role of women (early seventeenth-century Iroquois and contemporary European and colonial American) would be a topic that would provide meaningful cross-cultural information. One author included an illustration of Iroquois women and the caption: "Women in front of the storage building at the right are busy preparing food."[113] Iroquois women were the farmers in their culture as well as clothes-makers, dispersers of herbal remedies, cooks, and dancers in ceremonials. They also had an important political role because of their power to name and remove Confederacy Chiefs. One scholar believes that "There is no question but that at the time of the European contact, the Iroquois woman occupied a higher, freer, and more influential place in her society than did the European woman in hers...the Iroquois woman's position was se-

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[113]Graff, The Free and the Brave, p. 9.

curely based on her leadership in the family and in agriculture."[114]

In terms of the settlement patterns of Iroquois Indians, very little material can be found in textbooks. One author mentioned the subject in a caption to a picture: "Iroquois Indians (Senecas) about 1500 A.D. in a community in what is now Western New York State" and further described: "The permanent Iroquois villages were impressive. Each was made up of a series of houses solidly built and surrounded by a low earthen wall. On or inside the wall a wooden stockade was constructed."[115] The same author described an illustration of a longhouse, "the typical Iroquois dwelling,"[116] and another author mentioned that Iroquois "lived in large, bark-covered houses, known as 'long houses'"[117] but they both fail to indicate when the tribes lived this way and why they chose the longhouse for living quarters. The answer lies in the cultural make-up of the Iroquois which the writers failed to describe. By not describing whether or not these settlement patterns have persisted into the twentieth century, both textbook authors have created misimpressions.

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[114]Hertzberg, Culture of the Iroquois, p. 73.

[115]Graff, The Free and the Brave, p. 9.

[116]Ibid.

[117]McGuire and Portwood, Our Free Nation, p. 263.

Students may be left with the notion that Iroquois Indians are still leading a sixteenth- and seventeenth-century style of life.

Two textbooks contain statements about Iroquois attitudes toward land. "They were constantly...shifting their hunting grounds. They knew nothing about the white man's idea of private ownership of property."[118] "They were constantly...shifting their hunting grounds. They knew nothing about the white man's idea of private ownership of property. Hunting grounds were claimed in common by the tribe or a group of tribes."[119] Both authors described the Iroquois concept of land in terms of the latters' ignorance of non-Indian thought on the subject. These textbook statements have obscured the knowledge from readers that non-Indians were equally ignorant of Indian concepts of land. Negative descriptions about Iroquois Indians have not permitted students to know that the former had different but equally valid conceptions of land ownership and property rights.

Textbook material on Iroquois political organization is meager although scholars have studied and found the Iroquois Confederacy to be an important political system. One author presented a brief and reasonably informative account of the Confederacy:

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[118]Muzzey and Link, Heritage, pp. 12-14.

[119]Muzzey, Our Country's History, p. 24.

> The most notable tribe of the area (Eastern Woodland), the Iroquois added a spectacular achievement in government. They brought five, later six tribes or nations into an effective confederacy. Each tribe kept a measure of independence, but they acted together on broader matters. The Iroquois also showed a genius for tying other peoples in as conquered tribes, allies, or immigrants.[120]

Two other authors, however, referred to the Iroquois form of government as a "crude sort of government"[121] while another two conveyed the opposite opinion: "Tribes like the Iroquois in Upper New York were highly organized politically."[122] and "The Iroquois...had achieved remarkable success in government."[123]

Only three authors discussed the existence and founding of the Iroquois Confederacy, also known as the Iroquois League. The first one wrote:

> The Iroquois...League or Confederation had been known as "The Great Peace" when it was first brought together in the middle of the sixteenth century by the imaginative chieftain, Hiawatha. The purpose of the League had been to end warfare among the Five Nations of New York Valley, and, by presenting a united front, to discourage the surrounding tribes from aggression.[124]

This author who wrote that the Iroquois Confederacy "was first

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[120] Caughey, Land of the Free, pp. 124-125.

[121] Muzzey, Our Country's History, p. 24; Muzzey and Link, Heritage, pp. 12-14.

[122] Hofstadter, History of a Republic, p. 20.

[123] Graff, The Free and the Brave, p. 9.

[124] Hofstadter, American Republic, pp. 124-125.

brought together in the middle of the sixteenth century by the imaginative chieftain, Hiawatha," presented this information as though it were verified as fact. This authors and others who write like him have not alerted their readers to the fact that what information exists about the Iroquois has been embodied in a myth that has been transmitted orally from one Iroquois generation to another. It is important to remember that "The myth itself is not...an historical record. We do not know whether its heroes, Deganawidah and Hiawatha, actually lived. But the myth probably reflects in a general way what did happen."[125] It is also evident from the preceding quotation that this first textbook author who discussed the League ignored the role of the legendary Deganawidah in the formation of the Confederacy--one of the two great heroes in the Iroquois culture. Moreover, no authority has determined the precise time the Confederacy was formed:

> When white men first became conscious of it, the Iroquois already thought of it as ancient. Since the Iroquois had no method of dating years accurately, and since their time sense was different from ours, we cannot know what "ancient" means. Some authorities have set the date in the middle of the sixteenth century, some in the middle of the fifteenth. Some modern Iroquois believe that the Confederacy was founded as early as the end of the fourteenth century.[126]

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[125]Hertzberg, Culture of the Iroquois, p. 86.

[126]Ibid., 85.

The second author who discussed the existence and founding of the Iroquois Confederacy wrote:

> According to legend, the Iroquois Confederation was organized by two great leaders--Deganawidah and Hiawatha. For more than two centuries, the Confederation was highly successful. The legendary Deganawidah was a man of magnificent vision. He dreamed of a day when the Confederation would include all Indians, war would be abolished, and peace would reign across the face of the earth. We catch a glimpse of this noble ideal in the Iroquois "constitution" passed on by word of mouth from generation to generation: "I, Deganawidah, and the Confederated Chiefs, now uproot the tallest pine tree, and into the cavity thereby made we cast all weapons of war. Into the depths of the earth, deep down into the underneath currents of water flowing to unknown regions, we cast all weapons of strife. We bury them from sight and plant again the tree. Thus shall the Great Peace be established." Deganawidah's ideal was shattered when the Europeans began to settle the New World. Allied with the British, the organization that has been created as an instrument of peace, became, for a time, a formidable instrument of war.[127]

This author has adequately explored the role of Deganawidah in the formation of the Confederation and has sketched the relationship of Europeans to the League, but he has been remiss in not citing the sources of his information.

The third author who dealt with the topic of the origin of the Iroquois Confederacy wrote: "...to save the lives of the young men, the tribes banded together into a league. They formed a council of leaders who were elected by the people of the different tribes. The council made laws which put a stop to wars.

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[127]Todd and Curti, American Nation, p. 50.

The League made the Iroquois the strongest group in the eastern part of North America."[128] This author's simplistic interpretation of the Confederacy's formation barely reflects Iroquois legend or the research that has been done by Iroquois scholars.

A fourth author suggested the existence of the Confederation with his statement: "Because the five Iroquois nations agreed to fight together against any enemy, they became the strongest Indians living in the eastern woodlands of North America."[129]

Although textbook material on Iroquois political organization is meager, the situation worsens when trying to find information on the contemporary affairs of Iroquois Indians. There are only two small textbook references to the present existence of those portions of Iroquois tribes living on reservations in New York that managed to evade the Removal Act of 1830.[130] The first author who mentioned contemporary Iroquois in New York has distilled all of the complex political and social realities of the six tribes into one cheerless statement:

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[128]Liebman and Young, Growth of America, p. 49.

[129]Reich and Biller, Building the Nation, p. 25.

[130]An act signed May 28, 1830 which enabled the United States President, Andrew Jackson, through treaties, to remove Indians living east of the Mississippi to areas west of it. This act made it possible for land-hungry whites to take over vacated Indian lands.

"The Iroquois League lasted three hundred years, and vestiges of its traditions are still sustained by the few thousand tribesmen who continue to occupy the grounds of their vanished glory."[131] Neither the locations of the reservations nor the nature of the traditions have been mentioned. The other author wrote: "The powerful Iroquois Confederacy that had blocked the path to white settlement in central and western New York was broken up...The remnants of the tribes in the Confederation gave up their New York state lands and were settled on small reservations."[132] This statement seems to suggest that the Iroquois tribes were settled outside New York State which has not been the case. It is not surprising that many Americans--both young and old--are not aware that Iroquois reservations exist in upstate and western New York because a basic source of information has omitted this information.

Scholars have recognized and studied the impact of the Iroquois Confederacy on American political organization. Apparently there is enough evidence to support the theory that the League impressed white settlers, but not all historians have agreed it was one of the models on which the United States Constitution was based. One renowned anthropologist has felt that

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[131]Hofstadter, American Republic, pp. 124-125.

[132]Perkins and Van Deusen, History, p. 314.

"There is some historical evidence that knowledge of the League influenced the colonies in their first efforts to form a confederacy and later to write a constitution."[133] It is important to remember, however, that scholars have not proved conclusively that the League affected the shape of American political organization. Only one textbook author has treated this subject in his book: "It was from the great League of the Iroquois that the founders of our government got some of their ideas for making our democracy."[134] Unfortunately, the author presented the situation as though it were solidly confirmed that the League distinctly influenced the formation of the American political system. Nevertheless, the evidence that the Confederacy impressed the white settlers has been omitted by all the other writers.

The significant role of the Iroquois Confederacy in the Albany Conference of 1754 is another subject that has been ignored by the textbook writers. It has been established by historians that the presence of the Iroquois stimulated the British Crown and some colonists to work at formal union of the disparate colonies in order to improve relations with the Confederacy

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[133]Clark Wissler, Indians of the United States: Four Centuries of Their History and Culture (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1940), p. 112.

[134]Liebman and Young, Growth of America, p. 49.

and to improve colonial defenses against the French and their Indian allies, the latter of which were enemies of the Iroquois. Several authors who included information on the Albany Conference omitted mentioning the presence of the Iroquois at the talks. Perhaps they were unfamiliar with the fact that the Board of Trade in London summoned an intercolonial conference at Albany, New York in the summer of 1754, conveniently close to Iroquois country, for the purpose of improving relations with the Iroquois and strengthening colonial defenses. One textbook writer noted: "In 1754, English officials called a meeting at Albany, attended by Commissioners of seven colonies, to discuss ways of creating such an organization /union of colonies/."[135] A second one stated: "In 1754, it was decided to have a meeting in Albany, New York to consider plans for defense. The colonies were asked to send representatives to the meeting and seven colonies did so...The Albany Plan is of interest now because it shows that some colonial leaders understood the need for united action."[136] Both writers have omitted the attendance of well over one hundred Iroquois as well as the reason for the Indians attending the Albany Conference. Another author who asserted that the Conference "was attended by over one hundred fifty Indians and

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[135]Graff and Krout, Adventure, p. 82.

[136]McGuire and Portwood, Our Free Nation, p. 132.

by delegates from seven of the colonies."[137] did not give any information about the tribes that attended the Conference and their reasons for doing so.

Twelve textbooks contain material on the role of the Iroquois in the Albany Conference. Five of the authors mentioned the Iroquois in connection with the conference but never clearly stated that these Indians were participating members of the conference: "...colonial delegates assembled at Albany ...to try to make a common peace with the Indians and to win support of the Iroquois in the coming war with France."[138] "A meeting was called at Albany...The major purpose of the meeting was to work out a treaty with the Iroquois tribes that would keep them on the side of the English."[139] "...conference called by the British government. This colonial conference was held in Albany, New York close to Iroquois Indian country. The Iroquois were enemies of the Algonquins, who were allies of the French. The English hoped to keep the Iroquois as allies, and this was one reason for the Albany Conference."[140] "...representatives...convened...to seek a joint agreement with

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[137]Muzzey and Link, Heritage, p. 59.

[138]Hofstadter, American Republic, p. 65; Hofstadter, History of a Republic, p. 139.

[139]Moon and Cline, Land and People, p. 138.

[140]Brown, The American Achievement, p. 53.

the Iroquois to fight on their side."[141] Only one author asserted that "delegates...met at Albany, New York to discuss common measures of defense against the French and their Indian allies. They were joined there by Indian representatives of the Six Nations."[142] A seventh author presented an ethnocentric description: "In 1754, nineteen delegates...rode into Albany to confer with Iroquois chieftains. As the Iroquois listened, the white men went through the formalities that Indians demanded in all negotiations: the grandiloquent declarations of esteem, the ceremonial presentation of gifts..."[143] This comment ignored the reasons for the careful attention given to gift-giving and certain procedures by the Indians, obscured the knowledge that the Iroquois were quite skilled at diplomacy and negotiation, and disregarded the fact that the white men probably insisted on certain procedures that must have seemed equally peculiar to the Iroquois.

The remaining authors who had anything to write about the Albany Conference and the Indians' role in it presented inaccurate or misleading statements. Two authors were mistaken

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[141]Hofstadter, Structure of American History, p. 40.

[142]Todd and Curti, American Nation, p. 51.

[143]Blum et al., National Experience, p. 76.

in writing: "At the Albany Conference, the colonies promised to help Great Britain and the Iroquois Indians also agreed to help the British troops fight against the French."[144] "The meeting at Albany...accomplished two important tasks: it made peace with the Iroquois Indians and at least partially secured their neutrality in the war that was coming..."[145] The Iroquois delegation made no commitments at the Albany Conference, so the two preceding statements were inaccurate. A third author imparted the same misinformation but also included an uncalled for pejorative phrase: "The immediate purpose was to keep the scalping knives of the Iroquois tribes on the side of the British in the spreading war, and this objective was gained when the chiefs were harangued and presented with gifts."[146] (Italics mine.) A fourth author wrote that the colonists conferred at Albany for the purpose of making an alliance with the Iroquois, but misleads his readers into believing it was accomplished by adding: "Besides making an agreement with the Iroquois..."[147]

Not one textbook author referred to the impact of the Iroquois Confederacy on the thinking of Benjamin Franklin.

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[144]Reich and Biller, Building the Nation, p. 146.

[145]Savelle, American Civilization, p. 115.

[146]Bailey, American Pageant, p. 154.

[147]Graff, The Free and the Brave, p. 154.

Scholars have discovered that Mr. Franklin learned about the organization and operation of the Iroquois League while attending Indian councils and these experiences may have suggested to him the pattern for a United States of America. Regarding his proposed Albany Plan of Union, he wrote in a letter:

> It would be a very strange thing, if six nations of ignorant Savages should be capable of forming a Scheme for such a Union, and be able to execute it in such a Manner, as that it has substituted ages, and appears indissoluble; and yet that a like Union should be impractical for ten or a Dozen English colonies, to whom it is more necessary, and must be more advantageous; and who cannot be supposed to want an equal understanding of their ignorance.[148]

It is evident from the preceding analyses that it would be virtually impossible for students to get a clear understanding of the Iroquois tribes culturally, politically, and historically as well as an understanding of the impact of the Confederacy on American political organization. Textbook information is inaccurate, ethnocentric, misleading, insufficient, or altogether missing from the narrative.

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[148]Stuart Levine and Nancy O. Lurie, The American Indian Today (Deland, Florida: Everett/Edwards, 1965), p. 148.

CHAPTER III

THE CHIVINGTON MASSACRE

A glaring omission in most American history textbooks is the presentation of the story of white duplicity, cruelty, violence, force, threats, and broken promises involving Indians. A scholar who has analyzed the contents of history textbooks noted that:

> One of the persistent faults in many historians is the inability to see that the whites were a constant source of trouble to the Indians, and that the Indians, too, were often innocent victims of "cruel, border warfare." Not only are the massacres of Indians generally overlooked, but also the fact that thousands of Indians were enslaved.[149]

The Chivington or Sand Creek Massacre, which took place in Colorado in 1864, was one of those events that attested to the brutality of some white men in their encounters with Indians. A peaceful band of approximately five hundred Cheyenne Indians led by Black Kettle and Little Antelope was invited by the Governor of Colorado Territory to settle down for the winter in the neighborhood of Fort Lyon on the upper Arkansas. Subsequently, they were asked to shift their camp to Sand Creek, forty

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[149] Vogel, "Textbooks," p. 19.

miles away, and were guaranteed safe conduct there. At the same time the Indians were moving to Sand Creek, a wagon train some miles to the north was attacked and the Cheyennes were blamed for the incident. Colonel John M. Chivington, formerly a Methodist minister, commanding a force of about one thousand Colorado cavalry and United States soldiers, caught the Cheyenne Indians unaware and ordered a surprise attack on their camp, November 29, 1864. With instructions from Colonel Chivington not to take prisoners and to ignore the Indians' attempts to surrender, the soldiers killed, scalped, and mutilated over four hundred Cheyennes. One-third to two-thirds of them were women and children.

Eight authors treated the story of the slaughter of the Cheyennes at Sand Creek by Colonel Chivington and his force of men.[150] Seven included the massacre in the context of a discussion of land warfare between Indians and non-Indians in the West. The following two statements typify the substance of all of them: "Warfare with the Cheyenne...had been raging since 1861, when miners claimed their Colorado lands. This phase of the Indian wars came to a climax in 1864 when Colonel John M. Chivington massacred about four hundred fifty men, women, and

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[150]Bailey, American Pageant: Blum, et al., National Experience; Brown, The American Achievement: Richard N. Current, Alexander De Conde, and Harris L. Dante, United States History (Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1967): Graff and Krout, Adventure: Hofstadter, History of a Republic: Perkins and Van Deusen, History: Wilder, America's Story.

children in a Cheyenne encampment at Sand Creek. The Indian response was equally bloody."[151] "...the men of Colorado... organized as militia in 1864...attacked seven hundred unsuspecting Indians at Sand Creek. In brutal fashion, the Colorado militia killed possibly as many as five hundred of the Indian men, women, and children they found there. News of the Sand Creek Massacre aroused other tribes of the northern Great Plains to fighting fury."[152] It is important to note that none of the authors condemned the actions of Chivington and his force of men and most of the statements invariably included some references to Indian raids or pillage to balance off the Chivington atrocity.

Although the authors were all honest about the perpetrators of the event, only one author differed from the rest as to his intentions for mentioning the incident. He clearly used the Sand Creek Massacre as an example of white brutality to Indians.

> The savagery was not all on the side of the Indians... The whites were often the immediate agressors and sometimes shot peaceful red men on sight, just to make sure they would give no trouble. At Sand Creek, Colorado, in 1864, Colonel John M. Chivington's militia massacred in cold blood four hundred Indians who apparently thought they had been promised immunity.[153]

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[151]Hofstadter, History of a Republic, p. 439.

[152]Brown, The American Achievement, p. 367.

[153]Bailey, American Pageant, p. 567.

None of the eight authors referred to the questionable personality of Colonel Chivington, to the testimony of two of Chivington's lieutenants before an 1868 Congressional committee which investigated the affair,[154] or to the reparations granted the survivors of the Sand Creek Massacre--sixty acres of land for the lost life of a husband or a parent. And none mentioned the failure of the United States government to comply with provisions in a treaty made with the Cheyennes after the Sand Creek Massacre.

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[154]"The Sand Creek Massacre--Testimony of Lt. Cramer: 'We arrived at the Indian village about daylight...Colonel Chivington moved his regiment to the front, the Indians retreating up the creek...White Antelope ran towards our columns unarmed, and with both arms raised, but was killed. Several other warriors were killed in like manner. The women and children were huddled together, and most of our fire was concentrated on them ...no wounded fell into our hands and all the dead were scalped ...Our force was so large that there was no necessity of firing on the Indians. They did not return the fire until after our troops had fired several rounds...I told Colonel Chivington... that it would be murder, in every sense of the word, if he attacked those Indians. His reply was, bringing his fist down close to my face, "Damn any man who sympathizes with Indians" ...he had come to kill Indians and believed it to be honorable to kill Indians under any and all circumstances.'" Jack D. Forbes, ed., The Indian in America's Past (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 47.

CHAPTER IV

AN EVALUATION OF AUTHORS' RESPONSES TO SELECTED QUESTIONS

The authors of the twenty-seven American history textbooks under investigation were all contacted by letter[155] for their reactions to a set of questions: (1) What were the criteria by which you selected content on the American Indians? (2) What were the analytical questions, if any, that guided you in your search for data on American Indians? (3) What sources of information did you use to get your data on American Indians? (4) Do you feel it would be useful to have social scientists assist in writing those parts of American history texts that deal with descriptions of Indian cultures?

Of the thirty-seven authors contacted, a total of twenty-four responded. Of the twenty-four, eighteen authors replied to the questions in detail. Six indicated that the responsibility for writing material about Indians fell to their co-authors. Thirteen authors did not reply to the letter.[156]

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[155] A copy of the letter can be found in the Appendix.

[156] The names of the eighteen authors who replied to the

In answer to the first question, a majority of the textbook authors contacted by letter reported that one criterion by which they selected data on Indians was the type of material that illustrated the American Indians' relationship to and role in non-Indians' (white) society and history. "I treated the Indians only briefly, in relation to their effect on and relations with the English settlers..."[157] "Indians were brought into the historical record...primarily where there was conflict between the red man and the whites. These conflicts are significant primarily because they illustrate that quality of ruthlessness that is one of the characteristics of white American civilization--and the book's primary concern is the story of that white civilization."[158] "The historical significance of the role, both positive and negative, that American Indians have played in the history of the United States."[159] "Whenever I felt they were important in the national experience I referred to them..."[160] "The basic criterion in our selection and use of information on Indians has been its (sic) relevance to the

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letter can be found in the bibliography.

[157]Edmund S. Morgan, personal letter.

[158]Glyndon G. Van Deusen, personal letter.

[159]Arthur S. Link, personal letter.

[160]Alexander DeConde, personal letter.

outstanding events and main trends in the development of the United States."[161] "I do little with the Indians except insofar as they impinged upon the mainstream of American development."[162] It is evident from the above statements that the use of the phrases American development, national experience, and history of the United States are euphemisms for Euro-American civilization. These authors have written about American history as though it were exclusively European culture and have obscured the multi-ethnic origins and character of the country's history.

While a discussion of Indian-white relations is essential to any history textbook, the problem is that these accounts have usually treated Indians as adversaries and obstacles that needed to be removed from the path of white settlers, agents of "civilized" progress. Invariably, then, the authors have presented distorted accounts of Indian-white relations because they have sidestepped controversial topics and selected out data that would draw them into the story of white duplicity, cruelty, force, threats, and broken promises involving Indians. Rarely have the authors attempted to explain the reasons Indians resisted white settlers or to explain the disastrous effects of the European settlers' way of life on Indian cultures. In-

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[161]Richard N. Current, personal letter.

[162]Thomas A. Bailey, personal letter.

stead, they reported the negative impact of Indians on non-Indians. As a result, according to one critic of history texts, students have gotten "historical fiction."[163]

A few authors indicated that materials illustrating the Pre-Columbian cultures of American Indians were a criterion for selecting content. Implicit in one author's statement "presentation of Pre-Columbian cultures as backgrounds to main story"[164] was the ethnocentric feeling that Indians were subordinate figures in the history of America. Another author wrote in a more neutral vein: "We were aware of the great diversity of cultures among the Indians inhabiting the geographic confines of present continental United States and tried to convey some impressions of these differences."[165] It is evident from the total response of the historians, however, that materials describing the diverse cultures of American Indians have not been a prominent criterion for selecting data. One author observed quite candidly: "...most writers of American history textbooks...pay too little attention to American Indians on the cultural side."[166]

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[163]Vogel, "Textbooks," p. 17.

[164]Ralph H. Gabriel, personal letter.

[165]Merle Curti, personal letter.

[166]Van Deusen, letter.

Textbook authors have not imparted knowledge about Indians' contributions to American society as well as the notable achievements of individual Indians. According to several educators, the "history book approach...considers the period of American discovery and settlement in terms of specific contacts between individual Indians and the European explorers and immigrants...Too often, however, the more general contributions of the Indian culture are overlooked."[167] Another educator wrote that schools "denigrate the Indian, call attention to all of his faults and none of his virtues, and condemns him to a status of inferiority and adaption."[168] Only one author of a history textbook responded that the contributions of Indian cultures to American society provided him with a standard by which to choose information for his book.[169]

Most of the textbook writers have left out information that gives a frank explanation of contemporary American Indians' lives and problems. These writers have failed to equip students with knowledge and understanding of the difficult social, economic, political, and psychological problems facing Indians in this country. Only one author responded that one of his criteria for selecting content was "What can we say about American

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[167]Jefferson, Role of Racial Minorities, p. 50.

[168]Vogel, "Textbooks," p. 3.

[169]Curti, letter.

Indians that will help students know and understand minority group relations?"[170]

In answer to the second question, the authors indicated that few specific analytical questions guided them in their search for data on American Indians because they considered their criteria for selecting data tantamount to analytical questions. One author who provided a list of questions, however, reflected the authors' preoccupation with the relations between Indians and non-Indians to the exclusion of cultural information:

> How were the aboriginal cultures different from, and to what extent did they influence, the "American" civilization that was derived basically from Europe? What effects, positive or negative, did the Indians have on the (white) settlement of the country? How did the white man, particularly his government, respond to the presence of the Indian? What was the consequence for the Indians themselves?[171]

In answer to the third question, the majority of authors commented that they used "standard" sources to get data on American Indians. Operationally defined by some writers, this referred to works such as William T. Hagan's American Indians; Clark Wissler's The American Indian (revised edition, 1938); Paul Radin's The Story of the American Indian: C.T. Foreman's Indians Abroad, 1493-1938: Roy H. Pearce's The Savages of America: A Study of the Indians and The Idea of Civilization; Walter

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[170]Richard C. Brown, personal letter.

[171]Current, letter.

Prescott Webb's The Great Plains; Harold E. Driver's Indians of North America. Other authors noted that accounts by early settlers, presidential messages, congressional legislation, writings of reformers like Helen Hunt Jackson, monographic studies of Lowie on the Plains Indians, Kroeber's studies, Lewis Morgan's materials, John Collier's writings, contemporary travelers from Europe, Lewis and Clark journals and letters, and Francis Parkman were sources of information about American Indians. One historian noted as a source of information his consultations with members of the Anthropology Department at Columbia University, New York.[172] There is no question that all the sources mentioned by the authors merit attention. The salient feature of the above list, however, is the total absence of Indians as sources for information regarding their own histories and cultures. Such written source material is readily available.[173] Black Hawk (Sauk), Black Elk (Oglala Sioux), Geronimo (Apache), Chief Joseph (Nez Percé), Plenty-Coups (Crow), and Wooden Leg (Cheyenne) are a few of the Indians who, during their lifetimes, narrated stories about themselves and their tribes' histories to

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[172]Henry F. Graff, personal letter.

[173]Arlene B. Hirschfelder, American Indian Authors: A Representative Bibliography (New York: Association on American Indian Affairs, 1970). This bibliography lists 157 books by 120 American Indian authors. Fifty-four tribes are represented, from the Apache to the Wintu. Material in the books ranges from narratives of the origins and early histories of Indian tribes through conflicts with the white man to the present.

non-Indians:

> Such personal reminiscences and impressions, inadequate as they are, are likely to throw more light on the workings of the mind and emotions of primitive (sic) man than any amount of speculation from a sophisticated ethnologist or ethnological theorist.[174]

There are also numerous twentieth century American Indian historians and anthropologists who can provide necessary insights into American affairs, both past and present. The works of Charles Alexander Eastman (Sioux), Francis LaFlesche (Omaha), Arthur Caswell Parker (Sebeca), Muriel Wright (Choctaw), D'Arcy McNickle (Flathead), Edward P. Dozier (Santa Clara Pueblo), Ella C. Deloria (Sioux), John Joseph Mathews (Osage), and Ethel Brant Monture (Mohawk), are competent sources which should be consulted by authors of American history textbooks.

A detailed survey of American history textbook material on Indian affairs has revealed that the authors' narratives were unreliable because they failed to transcend their non-Indian cultural frame of reference. Jack D. Forbes, an American Indian scholar who has authored numerous articles on minority group history and culture has written that:

> Anglo-American scholars who write about North American history have tended to be products of their own particular ethnic past. That is, they have ordinarily seen historical events through the eyes of Anglo-American "pioneers" and "empire-builders." Thus most general histories

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[174]Paul Radin, The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1963), p. 2.

> of the United States are not histories of North America as a region nor are they histories of all of the many peoples who have resided in and contributed to the evolution of the United States. On the contrary, most such works are essentially chronicles of the Anglo-European conquest and of the development of the English-speaking white people during the succeeding four centuries.[175]

Writers of textbooks aparently have not always been aware that their cultural attitudes distort their interpretations of Indian societies. Anthropologists consciously try to avoid making judgements based on unconsciously imbued cultural beliefs. At best, an anthropologist who is a trained and skilled observer of other cultures cannot completely "check his own cultural heritage at the door as he might deposit his hat and coat with a restaurant checkroom attendant."[176] Since a cultural bias cannot be completely eliminated, the author should at least be consciously aware of his cultural dispositions and try to control them when he is describing or analyzing other cultures.

One author who allowed his cultural bias to control his descriptions of Indians wrote: "Although many features of Indian life have become part of our American legend...the Redman's culture was primitive."[177] Both terms, primitive and

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[175]Forbes, A Handbook, p. 4.

[176]Pertti Pelto, The Study of Anthropology (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1965), p. 94.

[177]Steinberg, Story of a Free People, p. 36.

Redman are pejorative and condescending when applied to Indians. This textbook statement also perpetuates another misconception concerning Indians. Anthropologists have frequently pointed out that there is no single Indian culture. There were and are diverse patterns of behavior among Indian tribes.

The term primitive which has a complex of meanings associated with it is also an imprecise way to describe any culture's stage of development. The problem is especially heightened when the writer does not stipulate any meanings for the term. Aside from the problems inherent in considering the term, it is improper to use it when describing Indian cultures in general. "Indian people were not primitive. They were highly complex human beings in a highly developed stage of human life. Their languages were complex, containing suffixes and prefixes, adjectives, nouns, and verbs capable of distinguishing complex shades of meaning, many of which cannot be translated into English."[178]

Two authors who wrote cultural descriptions of Indians used unsuitable terminology because they were not accustomed to making comparative-cultural observations. They wrote: "It is wrong, too, to think the Indians lacked ability or were foolish.

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[178]American Indian Historical Society, Common Misconceptions About American Indians. Material Prepared for 1966 Program of Workshops for Teachers in California. (San Francisco: American Indian Historical Society, 1966), n.p.

their technology was merely inferior to that of the Europeans and their rate of technological change was slow."[179] "The truth is that the redskins were children of a more primitive culture, and one cannot fairly judge them by higher standards."[180] Both authors have repeated an error made by early anthropologists of nineteenth century Europe who considered non-Europeans as basically inferior due to their lack of industrialization. Americans too frequently judge the worth of peoples in terms of how they measure up to American technological standards. Since our country has placed a great value on the complex in comparison to the simple, on things being "bigger and better," it is understandable that students conclude simple stages are inferior and complex ones superior. "The industrial revolution has conditioned us to regard items which include many operations in their manufacture as having greater value than those which have only one or a few operations connected with their production."[181]

The use of inferior by the first of the above-quoted authors to describe Indians indicates the ethnocentric state of mind prevalent among too many writers of textbooks. Implicitly

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[179]Graff, The Free and the Brave, p. 11.

[180]Bailey, American Pageant, p. 571.

[181]John Jarolimek and Huber M. Walsh, Readings for Social Studies in Elementary Education (New York, Macmillan Company, 1969), p. 352.

or explicitly, Native Americans have been measured against the social, political, economic, educational, and technological achievements of non-Indians. Both writers have overlooked the anthropologists' rejection of the notion of superior and inferior cultures:

> In the eyes of the anthropologist, all cultures are equal. They are different due to the fact that man has learned to meet his problems in different ways. He may have chosen to emphasize certain aspects of cultural development and others not so much. For this reason, some cultures, such as ours, may be advanced in the area of technology but may be experiencing a cultural lag in other areas such as law, property concepts, and spiritual matters.[182]

In American history texts, many authors have written about Indians culturally. It is critical that those writers who have chosen to concern themselves with cultural content be fully informed about their subject. History alone does not supply sufficient explanations about Indian cultures nor Indian relationships with non-Indians. The authors should familiarize themselves with contemporary, relevant, and accurate anthropological concepts and generalizations about Indian behavior.

In answer to the fourth question, most of the authors who responded to the letter indicated that some form of assistance from anthropologists, whether it be in suggesting materials or in criticizing the writers' treatment of Indians in the manuscript before it goes to the printer, would be beneficial.

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[182] Ibid., 350.

It is not being argued that anthropological method and information usurp the place of historical information in history texts, but rather that it be included when it helps clarify or illustrate the nature of Indian behavior, thinking, etc. Certainly, if we ask students to understand other cultures, no less should be expected from the people who write the books young people are obliged to read.

CHAPTER V

RECOMMENDATIONS

Early in the twentieth century, many groups of Indians were beginning to pay attention to the mistreatment of Indians in books which young Indians and non-Indians were compelled to read in school.[183] In 1927, an Indian organization known as the Grand Council Fire of American Indians addressed a statement to the mayor of Chicago which marked the first official action of Indian people protesting the distortions and inaccuracies of school books. What makes the statement particularly valuable is its incisive recommendations as to what to teach non-Indian children about Indians.

> Memorial and Recommendations of the Grand Council Fire of American Indians presented to the Hon. William Hale Thompson, mayor of Chicago, December 1, 1927.
>
> TO THE MAYOR OF CHICAGO:-
> You tell all white men "America First." We believe in that. We are the only ones, truly, that are 100 percent. We therefore ask you while you are teaching school children about America First, teach them truth about the First Americans.
> We do not know if school histories are pro-British, but we do know that they are unjust to the life of our people--

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[183] American Indian Historical Society, Textbooks, p. 6.

the American Indian. They call all white victories, battles, and all Indian victories, massacres. The battle with Custer has been taught to school children as a fearful massacre on our part. We ask that this, as well as other incidents, be told fairly. If the Custer battle was a massacre, what was Wounded Knee?

History books teach that Indians were murderers--is it murder to fight in self-defense? Indians killed white men because white men took their lands, ruined their hunting grounds, burned their forests, destroyed their buffalo. White men penned our people on reservations, then took away the reservations. White men who rise to protest their property are called patriots--Indians who do the same are called murderers.

White men call Indians treacherous--but no mention is made of broken treaties on the part of the white man. White men say that Indians were always fighting. It was only our lack of skill in white man's warfare that led to our defeat. An Indian mother prayed that her boy be a great medecine man rather than a great warrior. It is true that we had our own small battles, but in the main we were peace-loving and home-loving.

White men call Indians thieves--and yet we lived in frail skin lodges and needed no locks or iron bars. White men call Indians savages. What is civilization? Its marks are a noble religion and philosophy, original arts, stirring music, rich story and legend. We had these. Then we were not savages, but a civilized race.

We made blankets that were beautiful that the white man with all his machinery has never been able to duplicate. We made baskets that were beautiful. We wove in beads and colored quills, designs that were not just decorative motifs, but were the outward expression of our very thoughts. We made pottery--pottery that was useful and beautiful as well. Why not make school children acquainted with the beautiful handicrafts in which we were skilled? Put in every school Indian blankets, baskets, pottery.

We sang songs that carried in their melodies all the sounds of nature--the running of waters, the sighing of winds, and the calls of the animals. Teach these to your children that they may come to love nature as we love it.

We had our statesmen--and their oratory has never been equalled. Teach the children some of these speeches of our people, remarkable for their brilliant oratory.

We played games--games that brought good health and sound bodies. Why not put these in your schools? We told stories. Why not teach school children more of the whole-

> some proverbs and legends of our people? Tell them how we loved all that was beautiful. That we killed game only for food, not for fun. Indians think white men who kill for fun are murderers.
>
> Tell your children of the friendly acts of Indians to the white people who first settled here. Tell them of our leaders and heroes and their deeds. Tell them of Indians such as Black Partridge, Shabbona, and others who many times saved the people of Chicago at great danger to themselves. Put in your history books the Indian's part in the Worl War. Tell how the Indian fought for a country of which he was not a citizen, for a flag to which he had no claim, and for a people that have treated him unjustly.
>
> The Indian has long been hurt by these unfair books. We ask only that our story be told in fairness. We do not ask you to overlook what we did, but we do ask you to understand it. A true program of America First will give a generous place to the culture and history of the American Indian.
>
> We ask this, Chief, to keep sacred the memory of our people.[184]

Continuing in the tradition of the Grand Council Fire of American Indians, a contemporary all-Indian organization of scholars known as the American Indian Historical Society has been protesting the distortions and inaccuracies still present in textbooks. In 1970, the Indian Historian Press[185] published the Society's study entitled Textbooks and the American Indian.

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[184] Ibid., pp. 50-53.

[185] The Indian Historian Press, an independent Indian publishing house in San Francisco, California, has undertaken a program to provide accurate classroom instructional material about American Indians. They have begun to publish books about Indians, written by Indian scholars, and offered to the educational community as well as the general public. Textbooks and the American Indian is a preliminary statement in this publishing program.

This book made public the results of a major survey of over 300 textbooks--American history and geography, state and regional history, government and citizenship, world history, and supplementary readers--mostly published in the sixties. The thirty-two Indian scholars and students who conducted the study did not approve of one book as a dependable source of knowledge about the histories and cultures of Indian people in America.

The thirty-two Indian scholars and students who evaluated the 300-plus textbooks listed nine general criteria by which all the books were judged to be acceptable or non-acceptable. The nine criteria were considered to be valid for elementary through high school instructional materials, especially in American history. These standards of judgement are listed below because they are invaluable guidelines for writers of American history textbooks who must decide what material to include about Indians:

1) Is the history of the American Indian presented as an integral part of the history of America, at every point of this nation's development?
2) Does the text explain that the first discoverers of America were Native peoples whom Columbus described improperly as "Indians"?
3) Is the data contained in the text accurate?
4) Does the textbook faithfully describe the culture and lifeways of the American Indian at that time in history when the Europeans first came in contact with him?
5) Is the culture of the Indian described as a dynamic process, so that his social system and lifeways are seen as a developmental process, rather than a static one?
6) Are the contributions of the Indians to the Nation and the world described?
7) Does the textbook accurately describe the special po-

sition of the American Indian in the history of the United States of America--socially, politically, economically?

8) Does the textbook describe the religions, philosophies, and contributions to thought of the American Indian?
9) Does the textbook adequately and accurately describe the life and situation of the American Indian in the world of today?[186]

In addition to using the above criteria to help select material about Indians, this study urges that writers of American history textbooks implement the following recommendations:

1. Textbook writers should involve Indians in preparing or evaluating passages concerning Indians. Textbooks have generally been written from a white, European point of view. As a result, material pertaining to Indians is often inaccurate, distorted, inadequate, or non-existent. By consulting native scholars for their knowledge and sources of information regarding Indian cultures and histories, new information and interpretations can be incorporated into the story of the history of America. D'Arcy McNickle, Jack Forbes, Rupert Costo, Jeanette Henry, and Alfonso Ortiz are Indian scholars who can help immeasurably in improving the quality and amount of textbook material pertaining to Indians.
2. Textbook writers should use more statements by Indians to illustrate historical and contemporary Indian life and thought. Natives are largely misunderstood because almost all of the past history textbooks have been written and in-

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[186]American Indian Historical Society, Textbooks, pp.14-23.

terpreted by white, Euro-Americans, who, it has been noted earlier, do their research in books also written by white, Euro-Americans. These authors generously sprinkle their books with three and a half centuries of Euro-American eye-witness accounts. The original sources presumably enliven, enrich, and lend to credence to narratives and analyses. Disregarding the American Indian point of view in the reporting of Indian-white relations, however, renders those accounts one-dimensional, distorted, and inaccurate. Whenever possible textbook writers should include Indian accounts to illustrate their way of thinking. As has been noted earlier, a body of oral and written literature authored by American Indians exists. Selections from Indian speeches and autobiographies revealing feelings and ideas on the confrontation with Euro-Americans would demonstrate the impressive character of native elocution as well as give a more accurate and balanced account of Indian affairs.

3. Textbook writers should include ~~one paragraph explaining~~ the origins of demeaning stereotypes of Indians. This would be an important step in correcting the unreliable accounts of Indians that have appeared in past editions of textbooks. A brief explanation should note that past textbook statements conveying the notion that Indians were primitive, lazy, savage, filthy, cruel, noble or warlike were based on the be-

liefs and accounts of sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century white Europeans who had no knowledge of Indian manners and customs. It is worthwile to quote selections from a lengthy passage of a book written by Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. entitled The Indian Heritage of America. He summarized the origins of the various views of American Indians through the course of American history.

...Beginning with Columbus, the whites, with rare exceptions, observed and judged natives of the Americas from their own European points of view, failing consistently to grasp the truths and realities of the Indians themselves or their backgrounds and cultures. In the early years of the sixteenth century educated whites, steeped in the theological teachings of Europe, argued learnedly about whether or not Indians were humans with souls, whether they, too, derived from Adam and Eve (and were therefore sinful like the rest of mankind), or whether they were a previously unknown subhuman species. Other Europeans spent long years puzzling on the origin of the Indians and developing evidence that they were Egyptians, Chinese, descendants of one of the Lost Tribes of Israel, Welshmen, or even the survivors of civilizations that had once flourished on lost continents in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

In the lands of the New World, white men who came in contact with Indians viewed Indian cultures solely in terms that were familiar to themselves, and ignored or condemned what they did not understand. Indian leaders were talked of as "princes" and "kings": spiritual guides and curers were called wizards, witch doctors, and medecine men, and all were equated as practitioners of sorcery; Indian societies generally--refined and sophisticated though some of them might be--were termed savage and barbaric, often only because they were strange, different, and not understood by the whites...

Through the years, the white man's popular conception of the Indian often crystallized into unrealistic or unjust images. Sometimes they were based on the tales of adventurers and travelers, who wove myths freely into their accounts, and sometimes they were reflections of the passions and fears stirred by the conflicts between the two races. Described by early writers as a race of happy people

who lived close to nature, the Indians of the New World were first envisioned by many Europeans as innocent, childlike persons, spending their time in dancing and equally pleasurable pursuits...

On each frontier, beginning along the Atlantic coast, settlers who locked in conflict with Indians quickly conceived of them as bloodthirsty savages, intent on murder, scalping, and pillage. As the frontier moved west, and the Indian menace vanished from the eastern seabord, generations that did not know Indian conflict at firsthand again thought of the Native American in more tolerant terms...

But as long as conflicts continued, the border settlers regarded the Indians in terms that had been familiar to the New England colonists during King Philip's war in the seventeenth century, and echoed the sentiment that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian." Only with the defeat of tribes did that point of view change--and then, inevitably, it was succeeded by still another image, which also moved from one border to another as settlers took over lands from which they had dispossessed the natives. It was the cruel conception of the Whiskey Indian, the destroyed and impoverished survivor who had lost his home, tribal life, means of sustenance, and cultural standards, and lacking motivation--and often the will to live--sought escape in alcohol. Unfeeling whites, failing to recognize the causes of the Indians' degradation, forgot their past power, pride, and dignity, and regarded them as weak and contemptuous people...[187]

Textbook writers should cite some of this material in an effort to correct persistent false understandings and images non-Indians retain about Indians.

4. Textbook writers should include several paragarpahs explaining the Indian concept of land. For non-Indians, this area needs clarification because so much ignorance and misinformation exists regarding this topic. Equally important, because Indians are still struggling to retain their land in

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[187]Josephy, Indian Heritage, pp. 4-6.

such states as Alaska, California, Washington, and Wisconsin, Indian concepts of land are relevant additions of information to textbooks.

One of the greatest sources of conflict and misunderstanding between Indians and non-Indians has been their differing concepts of land. It is the responsibility of textbook writers to explain the reasons for the bitter conflict. Essential to the explanation is the recognition that each people had its own conception of the nature of land. Indians conceived of land as a benevolent mother and indispensable to life. Land was not real estate, but something to be used in common by a tribal grouping or pueblo to sustain existence and identity. Many Indians today still do not or cannot understand or accept the notion of private ownership of land.

> Tribes knew their own territory, as they knew their neighbors', and unless they were bent on mischief, they stayed within their own bounds. It also meant that within the domain of any given tribe, subordinate-use rights were recognized in separate bands, in clans, and even in family groups. Among the hunting tribes which commonly were thought of as moving indiscriminately over trackless wastes, there were well-defined hunting territories each claimed and used by an identifiable group.[188]

Europeans, on the other hand, conceived of land as merchantable. Law and usage had developed a system of privi-

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[188]Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNickle, Indians and Other Americans (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), pp. 26-27.

leges and obligations, all deriving from the notion of a transferable fee title in land. Land that was not encompassed within some form of recorded title was outside of law itself. When these Europeans found that Indians had no proceedings for recording titles and had no titles to land, they assumed there was no ownership.[189] The Indian concept of land "user-ship" was as alien a concept to the Europeans as permanent and individual ownership of pieces of land was a foreign concept to Indians. Writers must convey this essential difference in beliefs to readers so they understand why land was and still is a perpetual source of conflict between Indians and non-Indians. Because of the space limitations in textbooks, it is not necessary to give a lengthy explanation, but the writers should recommend outside readings that contain more information on Indian land concepts.

5. By adding neglected or new material concerning the role and position of Indians in American history it is necessary for writers of textbooks to revise their interpretation of the history of whites in the United States. For example, when writers add material about the fundamental difference in patterns of land usage by Indian tribes and Euro-Americans,

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[189] Ibid., 26.

it will be necessary to revise the concept of the American West as free, unoccupied land waiting to be grabbed up by pioneers. The concept of Indian land as free was woven into history by Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893. In his paper, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Turner wrote:

> Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American Development...In this advance, the frontier is the outer edge of the wave--the meeting point between savagery and civilization... The most significant thing about it (the frontier) is that it lies at the hither edge of free land.[190] (Italics mine.)

According to Jeannette Henry, "With the philosophy of 'free' land as propounded by this authoritative scholar, homesteaders and land grabbers could feel free to continue overrunning Indian land, treaty or no, legal or illegal."[191]

A brief but succinct explanation such as the following one written by Murray L. Wax illustrates the invalidity of the Turner thesis in regarding land as "free."

> To the European invaders, the North American continent appeared as 'a wilderness.' In the face of widespread occupancy by Indian tribes, this testifies to a funda-

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[190] Indian Voices: The First Convocation of American Indian Scholars (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, 1970), p. 109.

[191] Ibid., 114.

> mental difference in patterns of land usage by the European and North American peoples...Since areas were not fenced, or borders demarcated and guarded, and since tribal land was held in common (rather than being 'private property'), vast areas of land must have appeared to the invaders as having no owners and being unutilized."[192]

The inclusion of information explaining the apparent emptiness but actual occupancy by Indian tribes of the American West compels authors to revise material on the history of the settlement of the West. Any statements referring to Indians' resistance to Euro-American settlement of the United States as largely unjustified or referring to Indian massacres of pioneer women and children must be revised in light of the information concerning the way Indians regarded and used their land. Euro-Americans settled on occupied land and Indians justifiably opposed invasion of their territory. It is time that writers omit from their textbooks the notion that the American West was free.

The treatment of American Indians in selected American history textbooks which has been discussed, in the preceding pages, supports the opinion that "American historians have made shockingly little effort to understand the life, the societies, the cultures, the thinking, and the feeling of the Indians, and disastrously little effort to understand how all these affected

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[192]Murray L. Wax, Indian Americans: Unity and Diversity (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 16.

white men and their societies."[193] Textbook authors scarcely promote respect and admiration for Indian contributions, achievements, and cultural life-styles. If this sort of textbook writing continues to be published in the future, large numbers of young readers will continue to be harmed. As one scholar warns:

> It is hardly necessary to expand...on the consequences of ...deformed history; the creation or reinforcement of feelings of racial arrogance, and the disgorgement from our schools of students with a warped understanding of their cultural heritage, with no comprehension of the revolutionary changes taking place in the world, and no intellectual equipment for dealing with the problems of race relations here and abroad.[194]

Several ways to begin improving the content of American history textbooks concerning American Indians would be for authors to change the criteria and sources of information by which they select content for their books. It is also important for authors to become more familiar with anthropological concepts so they can accurately describe Indian cultures. By revising their procedures for choosing and writing material, textbook writers should be able to produce content about American Indians that will be culturally and historically reliable.

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[193]Hallowell, "Backwash of the Frontier," p. 230.

[194]Vogel, "Textbooks," p. 1.

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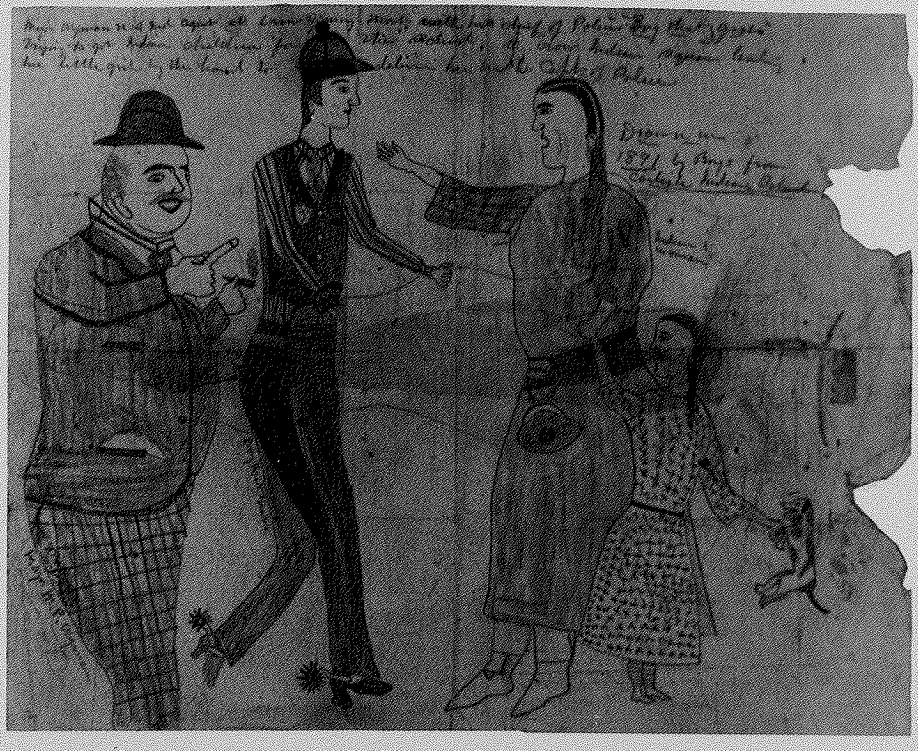
FREDERICK E. HOXIE

A Final Promise

The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920



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